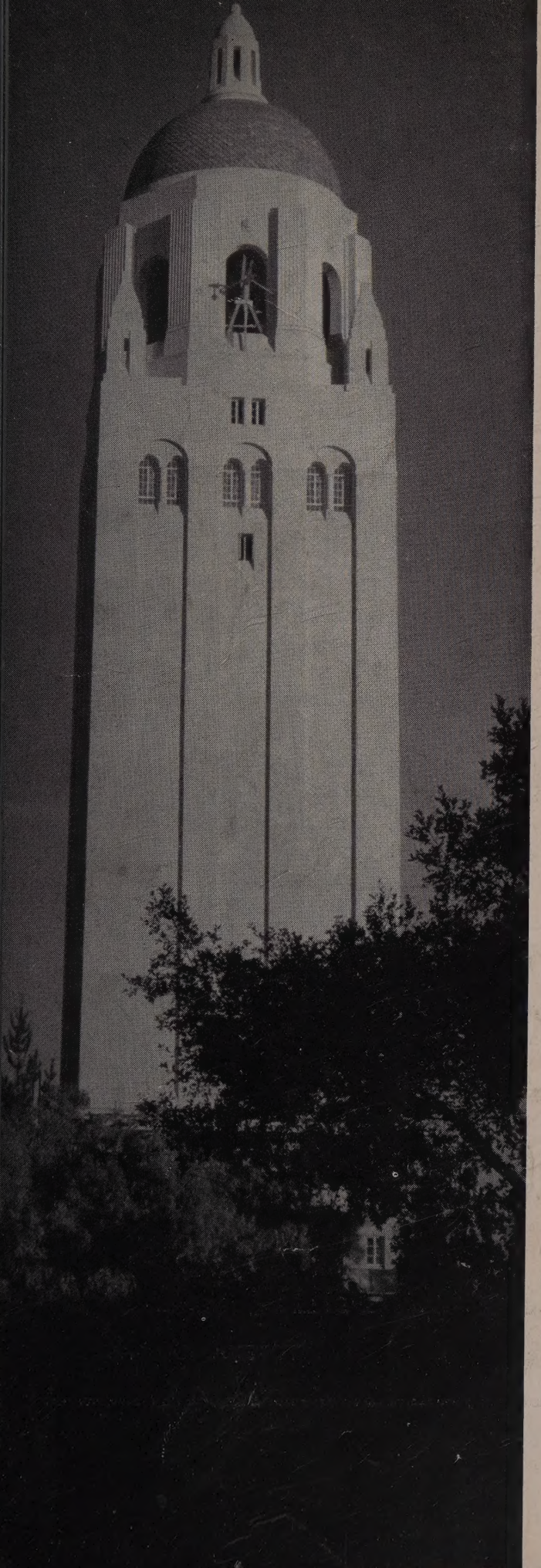


SPEECH ACTIVITIES

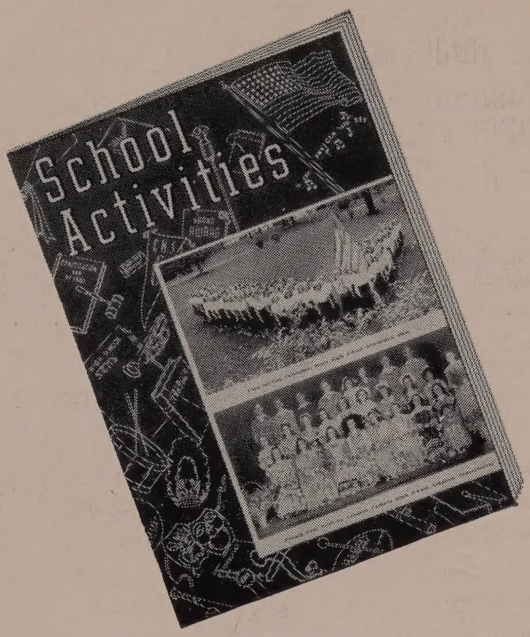
(Formerly The Debaters' Magazine)

Vol. V. Winter, 1949 No. 4

Illinois U Library

THE HOOVER LIBRARY TOWER
Stanford University.

Stanford was the scene of the
Western Speech Tournament
November 21-23, 1949



DEBATE

is one of the fields in which
SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

has been serving the schools of America for eighteen years. Under the editorship of Dr. Harry C. McKown, well-known authority on Extracurricular Activities, this monthly magazine promotes the following interests:

ACTIVITY PROGRAMS—Current thought of leaders in the field of democratic group activities.
SCHOOL ASSEMBLIES—An assembly program for each week of the school year.
CLASS PLAYS—Help in selecting and staging dramatic productions.
CLASS ORGANIZATIONS—Directions for the successful guidance of school groups.
FINANCING ACTIVITIES—Suggestions for financing student functions.
ATHLETICS—News and ideas on late developments in intra-mural and interscholastic sports.
DEBATE—Both sides of the current high school debate question.
DEPARTMENT CLUBS—Instructions and aids in the directing of school clubs of all types.
HOME ROOMS—Ideas and plans for educative home room projects.
PEP ORGANIZATIONS—Devices for stimulating loyalty and school spirit.
STUDENT PUBLICATIONS—Guidance in the production of school newspaper and yearbook.
PARTIES AND BANQUETS—Suggestions for educative and wholesome social activities.
STUDENT GOVERNMENT—Sound direction in the development of student sense of responsibility.
MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES—Music, commencement, point systems, etc.

Subscription Price **$3.00** *Subscribe Now*

School Activities Publishing Co.

1515 LANE STREET TOPEKA, KANSAS

How to Reach a Logical Conclusion

Might Be a Sub Title for:

DEMOCRACY THROUGH DISCUSSION

By Bruno Lasker • 376p. • $3.50 postpaid

"This book should be required reading for all those who have to do with the organization and direction of discussion groups. Happily, this requirement will be pleasant and stimulating. Many others, with a concern for democratic processes, will find reading the book a rewarding and interesting experience."

—Bulletin of the New York Education Council

'It seems to be the best thing I've seen in the field."

—Lyman Bryson, Columbia Broadcasting System

"I see many uses of this book in all of the speech arts."

—Professor Brin, Boston University

"The book surpasses all others in this field in widening the reader's recognition of the different kinds of success that may be won in group discussion."

—Professor Sheffield, Wellesley College

"Democracy Through Discussion is a valuable contribution to the philosophy and practice of group discussion."

—Let's Discuss It

"The book fills a long-felt need in the literature of discussion. It is neither a collection of discussion 'tricks' nor a pdagogical set of absolutes to be adopted or imitated. It is rather a wise and warm exchange of philosophy and method combined in such a manner as to make the reading of the book itself a type of discussion experience."

—Professor Lindeman, Columbia University

"An excellent presentation of methods for the free discussion of current questions."

—General Federation Clubwomen

"A wise, provocative and useful volume."

—Bower Aly, Louisiana State University

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

950 UNIVERSITY AVENUE NEW YORK 52, NEW YORK

Staff of Speech Activities

Owner and Publisher: The Nichols Publishing House

Editor-in-Chief:.....EGBERT RAY NICHOLS

Associate Editor:.....GEORGE MCCOY MUSGRAVE

COUNCIL OF ADVISORY EDITORS

EDITORS OF THE HONOR SOCIETY MAGAZINES

DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS

Hugo E. Hellman, Marquette University, Milwaukee Wisconsin.

Wayne N. Thompson, University of Illinois, Chicago Division, Navy Pier, Chicago, Ill.

Evan E. Anderson, Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota.

Hale Aarnes, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo.

David Potter, University of Akron, Ohio.

BUSINESS AND EDITORIAL OFFICE

Speech Activities is published at 814 Campus Avenue, Redlands, Calif. Subscription price, $4.00 a year, copies $1.00 each. For advertising rates write to the above address. All communications concerning subscriptions, change of address, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Egbert Ray Nichols, 814 Campus Ave., Redlands, Calif. Manuscripts and contributions welcomed.

BOARD OF CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Bruno E. Jacob, Secretary, National Forensic League, Ripon, Wisconsin.

A. Craig Baird, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

H. L. Ewbank, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Carroll P. Lahman, Pasadena College, Pasadena, Calif.

Richard C. Reager, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Brooks Quimby, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

James N. Holm, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

Howard L. Runion, College of Pacific, Stockton, Calif.

Dallas C. Dickey, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Forrest H. .Rose, S. E. Missouri State Teachers' College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

W. Norwood Brigance, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana.

J. Edmund Mayer, Alhambra High School, Alhambra, California.

Margaret Painter, Modesto High School, Modesto, California.

Brother Alexander, Sacred Heart High School, San Francisco, California.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Page

Socialism in Great Britain, John J. Allen, Redlands, California 147

Role of Intercollegiate Debate Tournaments, H. P. Constans, University of Florida 151

Origin of Debate Tournaments, J. D. Hansen, Kansas State College 154

The Debater and His Audience, Edd Miller, University of Michigan 157

FEATURES AND NEWS ARTICLES

Specimen Debate — Nationalization of Basic Industries 169

New Speech Organizations, Directors Association, Speech Activities Clubs 182

Kansas Colleges Debate Nationalization of Basic Industries 187

DEPARTMENTS

Along the Tournament Front 184

Western Tournament, Winfield Tournament, Calendar 184, 185

Book Reviews 180

College Handbook on the Debate Subject 177

College Oratory, Department of — My Paper Doll, John W. Low 164

Discussion, Department of 159

Index to Volume Five 189

International Debate — Japan Begins American Debating 155

Editorial and Comment 174

High School Handbook, National Debate Topic 179

News Notes and Personals 163, 173, 176

Our Contributors, Brief sketches of Authors of our articles 175

Public Address, Department of — Hiram Johnson, The Man the People Believed 161

Remarks for the Good of the Order: Bring Back the Losers; Forensics at the Grass Roots 166

Technically Speaking: Reader's Quiz and Answers 168, 176

With The Honor Societies: Hail and Farewell, and address 165

SPEECH ACTIVITIES

Formerly Debater's Magazine

WINTER, 1949

Copyright 1949 by
THE NICHOLS PUBLISHING HOUSE
814 CAMPUS AVENUE
REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA

VOLUME V NUMBER 4

Socialism in Great Britain*

By John J. Allen

BEFORE dealing with the main part of this talk, I should like to express a few thoughts that have occurred to me from time to time by virtue of my somewhat limited experience and knowledge of world affairs. I remain open to correction throughout as these preliminary observations are merely intended to stimulate a certain amount of thought on what is admittedly a complex subject.

As you know, there are usually two sides to most problems, and this one is no exception. To be perfectly fair about it all it is necessary to deal with the various viewpoints. In doing so we may be reminded of some of the underlying causes of the unfortunate state of affairs in which one of the hitherto most powerful and respected countries in the world now finds itself. As you know, most great empires are either in the ascendant or descendent. The slower the process, the more difficult it is to appreciate the trend, which is usually continuous in one or the other direction. Why has history shown that the required zenith cannot be maintained indefinitely? I think it depends upon the basic structure on which that position has been built and the ability to maintain it in the light of changing circumstances. Assuming that the basic structure is not one of greed, violence and misdirected ambitions which inevitably reap their own reward, but is fundamentally sound, then it is the ability to meet changing circumstances and turn them to good account. This ability is determined to a large extent, I feel, by the quality of the people.

This quality is reflected in their choice of leaders and their desire to observe the principles established by their creator. When a nation ceases to observe these principles the handwriting is on the wall, and it is only a matter of time before someone is in a position to write a book called, "The Decline and Fall of an Empire."

The external causes of England's present predicament are well known. First, the successful industrial challenge from the Western Hemisphere, and second, two crippling wars within the last thirty-five years.

The eclipse of England's industrial position is partly due to the type of capitalism that was practiced to a large extent in England prior to the social revolution. A revolution which was not entirely dissimilar to those in France and Russia. This betrayal of capitalism gave the system a bad name and has played into the hands of the Socialist and Communist sympathizers. You have only to look at this country to see that capitalism in its unadulterated form is basically sound and if immigration is the sincerest form of flattery, there are apparently a lot of other people who think so too. But any good system can be brought into ill repute by abuse. In Britain's case the abuse took the form of monopolies and cartelisation and the attendant lack of liaison between employers and employees. Increasing competition in industry was parried by obstructionist tactics to foster inertia and exploitation. Old fashioned methods far out-stayed their welcome and the seeds of class hatred and bitterness were sown slowly but surely through the years.

John J. Allen

By this, I mean that certain members of the community, on finding themselves in positions of affluence and power, abused this privilege by failing to exercise consideration, humility, tolerance and the responsibility of their status.

It was this attitude which had been caused by comparatively few that has done so much damage to the otherwise harmless thinking of the general public, particularly when it has been enlarged and inflamed beyond all reason by many of the unscrupulous men and women who have used it as a tool to gain power. There are few Socialist ministers who have not at some time or another pursued this vendetta policy with the usual exaggerations of exploitation and indolence on the

* Address given before the Rotary Club of Redlands, California, Sept. 1949.

part of the rich at the expense of "the innocent workers." The Socialists obtained much cheap popularity by promising to soak the rich in an attempt to relieve the masses of the responsibility of being ambitious and hard working and the masses readily accepted this scapegoat for their problems rather than attempting to improve their standards by their own efforts. Although this is one election promise that the Socialists have kept faithfully, of course it has become perfectly obvious that this fallacious theory provided no such panacea.

I do not propose to dwell on the shifting of the industrial center of power to enlarge on the aftermath of the two wars because I feel that England could eventually overcome these setbacks, as other European countries have shown signs of doing, if the internal structure were sound.

As I have said, this has been weakened by poor leadership which was brought about by confused thinking on the part of the majority. This faulty judgment could have been prevented to some extent by the people who should have known what was coming or did know but did not care what the future might bring.

I would mention in passing that the alleged atmosphere of snobbery and intolerance based on the reflected glories of previous generations was given some publicity shortly before the last war.

Ribbentrop, after experiencing the Ambassadorial rounds of high society in London, submitted a report to Hitler indicating that the British people were decadent. He was partly right, but he made the serious error of confusing industrial inertia with physical cowardice. As it turned out, the men who repelled the Luftwaffe in 1940 consisted chiefly of these decadent young aristocrats.

In 1945 the Socialists were returned to power by a substantial majority, much to the surprise of the more complacent Conservatives, who had not noted the danger signals. These people had relied far too much on the war time popularity and prestige of Mr. Churchill which they considered carried enough weight to overcome the natural swing of the pendulum. "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country," and this was partially true of Mr. Churchill.

In being defeated the Conservatives' next hope was that the Socialists would at least make a genuine effort to put the country back on its feet, and in this they were resigned to give them their support, in view of the extremely difficult task that confronted them. The rest of the world watched the Socialist experiment with interest. The Socialists soon showed how they intended to act, however, giving as they did, the highest priority to party doctrines and to the launching of costly experiments which the country could not afford at the time. They made the most extravagant promises to the wage earners and lulled them into a state of false security. The golden era of plenty had begun—higher wages, less hours, more benefits and all the comforts of life at the expense of those wicked middle and upper classes, coupled with a touching faith in the inexhaustibility of Government finance. If the Socialists did not know that these optimistic predictions were false they should not have been in responsible positions, and if they did know that the country could not carry the burden, they were selling its future for their own selfish aims. Not long ago, in desperation, large bill boards were displayed by the government with the words, "We work or we want." They would never have dared to do this in 1945, although the economic position of the country at that time would have justified them. It must be conceded that the Socialists had and still have a very slick but unscrupulous political machine which takes into account with devastating effect all the inherent aspects of the wage earner's character.

These include a passion for security and a not too vigorous life, a disturbing lack of intelligence and a marked disinclination to think logically. With few exceptions, the Socialist leaders are very sympathetic to these short-comings, because they also happen to be their own. The mind of the average Socialist supporter has somewhat limited functions, only comprehending, as he does, the personal details of everyday life. On a number of occasions I attempted to draw the various tradesmen with whom I came into contact into a discussion on the political or international situation. In nearly every case the experiment was a dismal failure, due to the fact that my fellow citizen had nothing to offer in the way of a skillful argument or in the presentation of any views for the simple reason that his mind had all the properties of a vacuum. Whereas over here I have rarely failed to elicit from his American counterpart a veritable barrage of involved theories and the means of administering them to the general wellbeing of the country. This perhaps illusrates the much greater disparity in intelligence which exists between the upper and lower classes in England than that between the higher and lower levels of society in this country where the barriers of class distinction have been virtually non-existent.

This simple little illustration has a profound bearing on the character of the masses. It is what is sometimes termed "the knowledge effect." A little knowledge is a good thing—it acts as a safety valve. The British masses have been kept very much in the dark mainly due to the rigid class system. They left school at an early age and were not given much oportunity for social or business advancement. This system did not have an immediate boomerang effect while there were sound and able leaders to guide them and do their thinking. The position has now arisen where the quality of leadership is lamentable and the people are given even less encouragement to exercise any freedom of thought or action.

How is it then that the people rejected a regime which admittedly required improvement, in order to accept another which imposes even more rigid controls, though in a different manner? It is, I think, largely due to what I call "the interest factor." By this I mean that the masses who had always been made to feel insignificant were evidently going to be made to feel rather important. In other words, they at last felt that they would turn to any party which would take more interest in them and single them out for special attention. This the Socialists promised to do and have done to the virtual exclusion of everyone else and to the interests of the country as well. That is why the Socialist Party is still so popular and may well be returned to power again regardless of the havoc they have caused to the country as a world power. After all, the interest factor is far more personal and de-

sirable to the masses than an appreciation of the country's future for which the knowledge effect is required.

It is necessary for foreigners to revise their conception of the British character. It is not to be confused with impressions gained of the limited number of Britains that one meets outside the United Kingdom. These may be more representative of a certain class, which is rapidly becoming extinct. The British had established a worthy reputation of integrity and of being able to recover from adverse circumstances through grit, determination and hard work. The force of this reputation is considerably weakened unless the right spirit is fostered by good leadership. The spirit of recovery in England is conspicuous by its absence, in marked contrast to that prevailing in several other European countries.

I have heard it suggested that the threat of veering to Communism is a safe lever for obtaining continued American aid. Frankly, this attitude fills me with disgust as I do not consider it to be an honorable way of cementing friendship. Perhaps this sentiment is too altruistic in the realm of international affairs.

I will pass on to a few details of Socialist administration.

Nationalization

This is one of their pet themes which gives them added control over industry and the lives of the individual. Theoretically, the profit motive is displaced by a burning desire to work for a soulless body called the State.

It is admitted that any government in the present era finds itself compelled to carry on a degree of state control. I submit that a good deal of planning is necessary by any government, but that the tactical running of affairs in industry should be left to the industry itself so that it can utilize all the inventiveness and ingenuity of which it is capable without government interference.

The experiment of nationalism has been disastrous — the country could not afford to indulge in costly experiments when it should have been setting its house in order. Incentive and ambition have been cramped by endless restrictions and penal taxation. No one is going to work for the state alone—self consideration is inevitably paramount, unless the doctrine is imposed by physical force.

In case anyone does not know, every industry that has been nationalized has made huge overall losses since it was taken over. Prices of the relevant commodities or services have gone up and the quality has come down, in spite of the well-worn election promises to the contrary.

As Mr. Churchill has said, the climax will be reached if the Government has the hardihood to nationalize the steel industry, which is vital to our whole economic life—particularly to our export trade, and is at the present time a record breaking model of efficiency under private enterprise. The following branches of industry have already been nationalized: The Bank of England, coal, transport, electricity, gas, aviation, cables, radio and medicine. To make the circuit complete there are innumerable restrictions and it is virtually impossible to do anything without some kind of government intervention. As all labor is now conscripted, even the freedom of choosing your own occupation has not been unmolested. Campaigns have been launched against the freedom of the press. These campaigns were, of course, primarily directed against newspapers which criticized the Socialists. Fortunately the attempts were a little premature and have not yet become successful. The next items on the list for nationalization are steel, the chemical industry, and the big insurance companies. The government would dearly love to lay its hands on the large funds involved.

Internal Finance

Government expenditure is immense. At the present time taxes take over 40% of the total income and are on an increasing trend. Attempts are made to conceal the exorbitant cost of government to the people by such devices as subsidies on food and in desperation the government tries to make ends meet with austerity programs to hold down domestic consumption and patriotic slogans to increase production. No effort has been made by the government to economize for the simple reason that lavish spending is the prerequisite of Socialism and any reduction in their extravagant programs would mean the abandonment of Socialism. This they have no intention of doing. Instead they plan further nationalization, additional controls, more welfare benefits, and the expansion of an already top-heavy, incompetent and wasteful bureaucracy. In spite of the fact that everyone else has been called on to economize, savings have decreased sharply due to lack of incentive, the capital levy and the falling value of the pound. This may may be, in the long run, a more effective way of ruining private enterprise in England, even than nationalization.

There are too many people in England still sunning themselves in the fool's paradise into which they were led in the first rush of enthusiasm at the advent of power of the Socialist Government. Some Socialist supporters are beginning to realize, however, that the elector cannot both have his cake and eat it. The idea that the numerous Socialist services were a gift from the government and the cost did not matter has been exploded. The whole Socialist doctrine has been one of putting the cart before the horse. However, the short-sighted policy of squandering the reserves which had been built up by their more prudent countrymen and obtaining enormous loans from America in order to keep themselves in power by temporarily raising the standard of living of the masses, was good enough for the electors.

In the long run even the masses will be worse off due to the ever present threat of complete bankruptcy. In any case, the average person pays out far more in the long run by contributing to the welfare schemes than he would have to do in paying for the benefit outright.

External Finance

This critical situation has brought Britain into the limelight, or shall I say, given it much notoriety. As you know, the crisis is this—Britain is spending faster than she can earn, borrow, or get money through gifts. The country is still not paying its way in terms of dollars. The British Government, after nearly six thousand million dollars' worth of help from the U. S. since the end of the war finds that its gold and dollars on hand are only a little more than half what they should be for safety. This money is being used up so rapidly it could be gone inside a year unless some way is

found to check the drain and replenish the supply. The plain fact is that the country is living beyond its means. Living standards for most people are higher than present earnings can support, but the Socialists are afraid of reducing them when the next election is so near. In addition Britain is finding the role of banker to the sterling area to be increasingly burdensome. On the other hand they do not wish to relinquish their leadership over the Empire and Commonwealth countries. Sterling debts owed by Britain to other countries are causing a terrific drain. These debts are being used by the creditors to buy British goods and services without any exchange in return. British goods that could go to earn dollars if the prices were right, are thus going into areas where they earn nothing.

The all important objective is to produce British goods at costs which will enable them to compete successfully in the export market. Unfortunately it is a losing battle. Whatever savings in unit costs England manufacturers are able to effect by improving methods and increasing output are more than wiped out by the pyramiding costs imposed on production by penal taxes and controls of the present government. Britain must import about 35% of its food requirements and other commodities which the country cannot produce, such as oil, cotton and tobacco. To offset this England must export or die. Yet England cannot hope to export goods at prices which cover normal costs and profits and in addition include the costs of the extreme cradle to the grave security, bureaucratic waste, and government mismanagement of nationalized industry. Foreign buyers will not pay higher prices for English goods than others just to make a Socialist dream come true in England—even if that were passible.

Moderate domestic consumption combined with high production at low costs could build a strong export position for England if the country also had a frugal, competent government, single-mindedly devoted to restoration of the English economy.

No amount of financial juggling can solve the long term problem. The only answer is a sound government and a burning desire by all the people to work hard and then harder than that. Unfortunately neither of these two requirements is in evidence at the present time.

As these two basic requirements are tactfully ignored other devices are sought to ease the position. One of these is the forming of bilateral agreements between England and other countries to exclude competition in order to make a market for English goods which are not genuinely competitive. Another device is the now familiar one of loans or gifts from the United States, the proceeds of which can be used to absorb any selling losses necessary to achieve the support of English goods. As I have mentioned, the cheap expedient of threatening to lean toward Communism is the key signal on this particular play.

Further grants from the United States will have the same effect as those already made. They will simply serve to sustain artificially for a while longer a situation which is intrinsically wrong and a drag on the economy of the entire western western world. After the war the United States gave England over three billion dollars in a lump sum which was expected to finance the country over its period of reconstruction. The Socialist government used up this entire amount in a little over a year's time. Then the Marshall Plan arrived under which England was the principal beneficiary. Despite this tremendous outpouring of wealth by the United States plus income from exports from other sources, plus huge and mounting taxation internally, England in the fifteenth month of the Marshall Plan has depleted her gold and dollar reserve by more than 25%.

It is all very embarrassing and while one cannot help admiring the American Government in not wishing to interfere in any way with the internal problems of Great Britain, at the same time in granting further aid, I do feel that a little plain talking would not do any harm to the scoundrels who turn to a capitalist country for help with one voice and denounce capitalism in their own country with another.

Great Britain spends on her elaborate welfare program over three thousand million dollars per year, and this represents about 25% of the British government's total expenditures. It appears obvious that in this item alone there must be room for reduction that would permit Britain to lessen substantially the weight of her burden on the United States. I think, therefore that a substantial reduction in aid to Britain could be made from now on with a long term benefit to both countries.

Comparison of Socialist and Conservative Policy

The Socialists have often accused the Conservatives of having no policy and being a class party to protect the interests of rich people. This is entirely false. At today's prices and cost of living, the only people who can be classed as rich are those with net incomes of over $25,000 a year. There are only 75 such persons in the country, and many of these fortunate people are Socialists. The Prime Minister himself has probably one of the largest incomes of anyone due to a high proportion being free of tax.

The Conservative Party is a national party in which all classes can unite and work together for the good of the country. The great bulk of its supporters are working class men and women, trade unionists, clerks, shopkeepers and the like. The Conservative Party does not attract to its ranks more than a few who for their own political ends seek to set one class against another, to sow the seeds of intolerance, suspicion and distrust, or to exploit the baser instincts of envy and spite.

The Socialist Party expounds an entirely erroneous idea that men can obtain a state of equality. This is contrary to the experience of human nature right down the ages. The process should be one of leveling up, which was being evolved in a more liberal regime before the war, despite the depressions in world trade, rather than one of leveling down. The Conservatives intend to lay down and maintain a basic minimum standard of life below which no one should be allowed to fall, either during their working life or in old age. Above that safety line, there should be free enterprise and competition.

They also intend to cut the expenditure of the endless bureaus which do nothing but hamper production and kill incentive and provide soft jobs for parasites to the community. They wish to give the industries and individuals freedom of choice, encourage enterprise and healty competition, and restore opportunity to those expert merchants

and traders who before the war gave us the highest standard of living in Europe. They will call a halt to nationalization and act justly but firmly with labor.

The Socialists by and large are a breed of small men who would never be given responsible positions in a competitive business life. They are not used to leadership, nor are they fitted for it. With few exceptions, there are no brilliant men in the party. They have become drunk with power and abused it accordingly. I would prefer you not to think of these men as typical Englishmen, but I am afraid I am out-dated. Like many of their supporters, they lack vision and care little for Britain's prestige in the world. They are not empire conscious and the future of the country as a world power is of little consequence to them, as they wish only to make the most of their fools' paradise while they may.

The Future

The next general election will be held before the autumn of 1950. It may even be held this year if the Socialists feel that it is in their interest to hold it sooner rather than later. This may be the case if they consider the public confidence is turning against them slowly but suredy. In my opinion the standard of living will have to be even further reduced in 1952 unless American aid is continued on the same scale, and there are limits to the charity of even a good-natured uncle. England, dependent on her nearly 50,000,000, with limited natural resources can only maintain a high standard of living by virtue of outside interests. These have been accorded a minor role in comparison with the pet theories and impractical doctrines that have been plugged for all they are worth (which is nothing).

The council and by-elections have shown heavy Socialist losses, but it is dangerous to assume that they are a yardstick for the next election results. The Socialists may just squeeze in again, and if they do, anything could happen.

But I must not be pessimistic. If the English public have learned their lesson, and this is always a slow process, the Conservatives will get in, and if they do, I anticipate a bright horizon.

Of course they have lost a number of their best men during the course of two wars, born by enemy action and by marriages to Americans, and subsequently due to the added attractions of immigration, but some quality is still there. Given the right encouragement and the settling of these absurd class hatreds, they will be enabled to rejoice and sing "Land of Hope and Glory" rather than be ordered to sing "The Red Flag."

In conclusion, I should like to quote a recent article written by Sir Herald Spencer Jones (the astronomer Royal).

"What is needed is the fulfillment of our duty to our neighbors and to God, which Micah sums up in those immortal words: To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.

"To do justly—what a lot is conveyed in those three short words! These words seem to be an expression of the true aim of socialism in the Christian sense as distinct from the political sense.

"We are not doing justly if people are allowed to starve or to live under appalling conditions, or if opportunities for social betterment are denied them.

"If this precept was followed by everyone there would be no cheating, no thieving, no black market. There would be no dictators seeking by aggression their own aggrandisement. Nor could Communism, which is based on injustice, survive.

To love mercy, here we have the complement to justice. Justice by itself is not enough. A world ruled strictly by justice could be a very harsh world. For justice can sometimes be cruel and can cause great suffering. It needs to be tempered with mercy. As Shakespeare said:

'Earthly power doth then show likest
God's
When mercy seasons justice.
Though justice be the plea, consider
this,
That in the course of justice none
of us
Should see salvation; we do pray
for mercy;
And that same prayer doth teach us
all to render
The deeds of mercy.'

"To walk humbly with thy God:

Continued on Page 157

The Role of Intercollegiate Debate Tournaments in a Post War Period

H. P. Constans*

MY purpose in this paper is briefly to point out some changes that are taking place in intercollegiate debating, and to project the trends indicated into the future, which, for convenience, I have called the post war period. I am not so much concerned with criticism as I am with projection. Nor shall it be my purpose to condemn or extol tournament debating, but to take it as we find it, and in the light of that, to offer suggestions which may provoke discussion and possibly lead to action.

In the last 30 years (a comparashort space of time), many of us have seen great changes take place in debating. Those of us who were in college before or after the first World War will recall that on many campuses the Literary Society was a flourishing institution.. In its weekly or fortnightly meetings at which a program of impromptu or extemporaneous talks, and possibly an oration or debate was presented, we received a considerable portion of the training in speaking offered to the undergraduate of that day. Many institutions looked to the literary society and the inter-class debate competition as being in the nature of a proving ground for the aspirants of the varsity debate squad. In that dim and distant past, most of the debate, most of the debating was done by comparatively few peo-

* Reprinted from the Southern Speech Journal, September 1949 Number, with the permission of the editor, Dr. Dallas C. Dickey, and the consent of the author, Dr. H. P. Constans, both of the University of Florida Department of Speech. Dr. Constans presented this paper at the sectional meeting in Debate at the Washington, 1948, convention of the Speech Association of America.

ple. An institution would be represented by two teams of three men each, with an occasional alternate taking the place of one of the so-called "regulars." Departments of Speech were not common, and most speech work was centered in the English Department. The training of the debater was frequently in the hands of a person who was not trained in speech as such and who probably would have objected to being called a teacher of speech. The debating program consisted of dual or triangle debates with the negative team traveling to the other school, and the debating season in that day usually consisted of six to eight intercollegiate debates.

A few years later, the three-man team, partly through reasons of economy, was changed to the two-man; at about the same time the touring or traveling team came into vogue. Schools went on tours that took them half-way across the continent and, in some instances, the trips were actually transcontinental. This touring team of two men would participate in ten, fifteen, or even twenty debates. Securing an audience during this and the preceding period was no great task. A debate with the representatives of a far away school was one of the highlights of the year, and it was not unusual for an audience of 1,100 to assemble to hear the debate. Possibly in part as a result of the tours, the dual or triangular debate became one of a number of debates on a tour.

A result was that the debate squads increased in size, and the number of participants in intercollegiate debate became greater. By 1930, many institutions which had in the past boasted of the strength and prestige of their literary societies saw them largely become social clubs or cease to exist altogether. During this same period, new styles of debate were introduced and experimented with: The Oregon Style, and the Direct Clash. There were also changes made in the matter of debate judging. The traditional board of three judges was increased to five, and then reduced to one expert; the audience sometimes acted as sole judge, or shared in the judging with two traditional debate judges.

Early in the 1930's one of the commonest forms we find today, the tournament debate, took its place in the forensic picture. Schools were invited, or came of their own volition to these tournaments, and while there had an opportunity to engage in several rounds of debating, sometimes four to six, not infrequently eight or ten. Generally there was no audience present, and the judging was done by one person. However, it should be pointed out that for the final or championship round an audience was present, and the number of judges was usually increased to three. Since the end of World War II and the revival of interest in debating, we now find the phenomenon of tournaments sprouting up everywhere. These tournaments seem to follow a rather set pattern; namely, an almost painful lack of variety in the debate forms used, the same debate proposition discussed over and over, and some of the schools sending the same debate "squad" of two, three, or four men to represent them.

The question that I would present is whether the present day tournament has substantial educational value to the participants. After all, what are we trying to do in intercollegiate debate? What is the educational goal involved? In my judgment, we are endeavoring to train students through a process of hard work to make a careful and fairly exhaustive study of the issues involved in the proposition in a clear, convincing and persuasive manner. I believe that this goal is not only useful in and of itself as an educational discipline for the individual, but I feel certain that it has a utilitarian value. Many of life's activities are intensely competitive; this is certainly true in the business world and in the legal profession, and, at times, even in the teaching profession. I am sure we are all aware that tournament debating is essentially competitive, and I, for one, believe that competitive debating is a good thing when it is conducted on a high plane. I believe that tournament debating can be conducted on a high plane, and I also think that it is failing, at least in part, to reach that plane of competition. It is with this thought in mind, that I wish to present several problems and offer some suggestions.

The first is that of the time element. Too many of the tournaments of the present seem to be designed to set some sort of all-time record for the number of debates that can be crammed into a day and an evening, or two days. Not infrequently the time interval between one debate and the beginning of the next is no more than ten minutes and the contestants rush from one room to another with little or no time to consider, or reflect, much less evaluate, what they or their opponents have said. I do not believe it follows as a matter of course that the best debating is done when there is the least amount of time available. I do believe that if more time were allowed between rounds of debate so the debaters could sit down and analyze what has taken place, and shift, shape, or adapt their arguments in the light of what they have learned, improve or point up their presentation, that from the standpoint of the participants real values might come to them. In addition to the above suggestion, if at the end of each debate the single judge could be given time, possibly ten or fifteen minutes, to present his analysis—or critique, if you will—of the debate, then whether the debaters were satisfied or not they would at least know wherein they succeeded or failed insofar as that one person, the judge, was concerned.

A second problem concerns the judging. The value in the procedure suggested above would be enhanced if the judge were really trained to judge debate, and this means, by and large, that he should be a member of the speech profession, and not some person who is always willing to help out and do the best he can, even though he really confesses his ignorance in the matter of judging debate. In order to get reasonably competent judges it means that we are going to have to go to more trouble and possibly some expense. It seems to me that the sponsoring institution or organization that sets up a tournament obligates itself to conduct the tournament on the highest possible plane. One way of attaining that plane is to provide competent judges, and any financial outlay that is necessary in order to provide them should be accepted as part of the obligation of the sponsor of the tournament. After all, debating as a collegiate activity, generally, has to be subsi-

dized, and I see no reason why part of that subsidy should not go toward the securing of more competent judges.

A third problem that seems to be attendant upon tournament debating is that of providing an audience. If tournament debating is to approach more closely a practical speaking situation, an adience must be present. And by audience I do not mean the opposing team, the judge, and the timekeeper. When debaters talk before an actual audience they receive a stimulation or even a motivation that they can get in no other way. Furthermore, they are presented with a situation that more nearly approaches reality. In order to meet his problem of providing an audience why wouldn't it be possible not to schedule all teams who are entered in the tournament for the first rounds of debate? In this way some of the debaters might be available to provide an audience for those who are participating in the first round. At once you may say that this will enable a team to scout another. Suppose it does! What great loss or harm is involved in that? Thoretically, at least, it might lead to better debating, and I am one of the old conservatives who believes in setting the highest standards possible for the debater to attain. If all debaters don't speak in each round of debates, you will say that instead of being able to hold this tournament in one day it will take three days. Supose it does! Or you may say, instead of being able to have 24 schools participate in the tournament your plan means that we shall be able to have only twelve. Suppose it does!

A fourth problem is that if debating has a place in the educational life of a college or university, if it provides valuable training for the student, then by and large, the more students who receive this training the better. There is a certain value in actual inter-collegiate participation that comes to the individual, a stimulus, if you will, that he seldom, if ever, gets from practice debating in the classroom. Inter-collegiate competition, I believe, provides the real test of his ability, and brings out the best, though in some cases I grant also the worst in him. When the sponsor of a tournament allows you to enter only one team, he automatically narrows that training more than he would if you could enter two teams, or even four. Cannot these tournaments be so set up that they will encourage the participation of the several rather than the few?

A final problem common to tourament debating is the boredom experienced on the part of most people with debating the same proposition, namely, the national question, over and over again. Now I am a firm believer in adequate preparation. I also feel certain that you can come reasonably close to exhausting the pertinent information as well as your mental enthusiasm, with the study of a proposition over a period of a few months. I doubt that a line can be drawn so that we can say with certainty that after a debater has discussed a given proposition 10, 20 or 30 times there is little value left in it for him; however, I suspect that after a reasonable number of debates have been engaged in the debater is subjected to the law of diminishing returns. As a suggestion would it not be possible to establish a policy where two or three propositions were studied? Maybe we could use one during the fall months for the touraments held during that period; quite possibly a different one for February and March; and maybe a third for April and May.

All the above leads us to the question, who is to determine what the role of inter-collegiate debate tournaments is to be in the post war period? Whatever course tournament debating may take, I doubt that the participants in debating, the students themselves, will exert much influence or, as a matter of fact, show much interest in improvements to be made. The debater is generally so much concerned with the actual problem at hand, namely, the forthcoming debate, that he doesn't give much attention to the good or bad points of the tournament, other than to discuss the decisions, especially those that were adverse to his point of view. Thus, at present the shaping of the course that tournament debating is to run is in the hands of the people most concerned, namely, the directors of debating, or the directors of tournaments. Many times, as a result of their being subjected to the type of tournament that is common today, directors are so exhausted and not infrequently disheartened and disappointed, that it is difficult for them to look at the whole procedure with the detachment that it merits. This group is generally so concerned with the preparation of teams for debate, that it has little time to consider the whole tournament procedure. The third group that might concern themselves with this problem is the administrators of the Departments of Speech, who should be inquiringly interested in finding out whether these tournaments in which their students participate are fulfilling the educational objectives of debating. Of course, it may well be argued that while the administrator is interested he is so busy with other things that there is little likelihood that he will either initiate or carry through to completion suggestions for improving the tournament.

This, to my way of thinking, means we must look elsewhere if we expect to find a group sufficiently interested and at the same time qualified to guide the future course of tournament debating. I think of three possible groups—the National Forensic fraternities, the Regional Speech Associations, and the Speech Association of America. The forensic fraternities are usually so concerned with problems of their own organization that they likely to have neither the time nor energy to direct their efforts toward improving the tournaments. The Regional Associations have different historical backgrounds and different concepts of their functions. The Southern Speech Association, for example, fosters and conducts a tournament, congress, and other speaking events. Such a program might not only not appeal, but actually be distastefful to some of the otner regional associations. By the method of residues, if my analysis has been correct, we are brought to consider the Speech Association of America as the instrumentality that should and could devote the interest, time, and experience to a consideration of tournament debating. Now I recognize that the easy way is to do nothing about the whole problem, let it take care of itself, allow it to go where it will, and succeed or fail, largely because of chance or circumstance. On the other hand, might it not be the better part of wisdom for this Association to come to grips with this problem and thus be able not only to guide, but guard tournament

Origin of Debate Tournament*

John D. Hansen
Kansas State College
Manhattan, Kansas

A thousand years from now the researchers in the field of public speaking and forensics will probably look upon our age as the era of debate tournaments just as we look upon the days of Antiphon and Isocrates as the period of the Greek Professional Speech Writers, or those of the late Roman declamatory speakers as the age of Declaimers.

There has been some question as to when and where the first debate tournament was actually held and by whom it was conducted. However, the following quotation is fairly convincing: "The first (debate) tournament was held at Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, about 1923. Through the influence of Professor W. H. Veatch, then at Dakota Wesleyan University, the 1924 Convention of Pi Kappa Delta, meeting at Peoria, Illinois, decided to adopt the plan for national debate contests at the 1926 convention scheduled for Estes Park, Colorado." This quotation appears on page 87 of "Modern Debating" by E. R. Nichols and J. H. Baccus.

Dr. J. Thompson Baker, then head of the Department of Speech at Southwestern, was in charge of the first tournament. As originator of the debate tournament credit is accorded to Dr. Baker in Volume 25 of **Who's Who in America**. However, Dr. Baker rather modestly refutes this statement in a recent letter from which I quote: "No one person can be singled out as the 'originator' of the debate tournament. It did not, like the hero of the poet's story, 'spring full grown from the heart of an oak tree, riven by lightning'; but like Topsy, 'It jes growed.'"

As in many fields of reform, the debate tournament originated from necessity. Efforts were being made to discover and develop a better means of carrying on competitive debating activities than those commonly in vogue; namely, the round robin and debating league plans. In this respect I again quote from a letter from Dr. Baker, who has now retired from the teaching profession and is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church and Director of Religious Education at Normal State College at Dillon, Montana. "Debating then consisted of half a dozen or so debates with nearby rival colleges. These debates had developed into acrimonious contests, and when these judges had delivered their decisions, it was not unsual for the meeting to break up into a riot—and there was much 'euchering' in the selection of judges. In fact it was not uncommon for the coach to be called in by the college president and asked, Do you think you have judges who are safe? The practice resulted in the college team winning the most debates whose coach was the best politician in getting judges. I, myself, have had the experience of submitting a list of twenty-one proposed judges, only to have them all rejected but one."

Dr. Baker goes on to say, "This was one of the outstanding evils of debating. Some of us got very tired of it. So when the Regional Pi Kappa Delta Tournament met at Southwestern College in the spring of 1923, we talked over plans of reforming debate. The 'round robin' had been tried; that is, having every team meet every other team. But there were objections to this. One of the main ones was that in any large gathering of colleges it was too long, and, indeed, impossible. Then several of us in a 'bull session' led the discussion in a scheme which resulted in the tournament idea. There had been tournaments in various athletic contests which developed from knightly tournaments so popular from the 12th to 15th centuries in France and England, and which probably originated in France. This gave the idea expressed in the question, 'Why not a debate tournament?' and out of this sprang the first debate tournament held at Southwestern College in 1923."

Perhaps it would not be out of place to mention that the first preseason practice tournament was devised by J. Thompson Baker, himself, in connection with the invitation high school forensic events being sponsored by Southwestern College during the late twenties. Dr. Baker credits Dr. LeRoy Allen, then on the Speech staff at Southwestern for suggesting that it be tried with colleges. So rapidly did this event grow among the colleges that by 1937 the numbers attending the Southwestern annual event actually exceeded the number participating in the National Pi Kappa Delta Convention held at Houston, Texas, the previous year. From a special bulletin published by the Speech Department of Southwestern College in the spring of 1937 we read: "This past year all records were broken, and in fact it was the largest debate tournament ever held. There were more debate teams here debating than at the last National Pi Kappa Delta at Houston, Texas, last April, and in two days there were as many debates as there were in the national in five days. A total of 185 debate teams from 57 coleges from 10 states participated. In all, there were more than 500 debates and more than 500 debate people came to Winfield for the debate tournament." With such a response, naturally Winfield, Kansas, merited the title of the 'Debate Capital of the United States,' and Dr. J. Thompson Baker was in his own right credited as the 'Father of the Debate Tournament.'"

Our observations here would hardly be complete without citing a few novel incidents and near tragedies that occurred during these early Southwestern tournaments. In his reply to my letter suggesting that he cite some of the most interesting of these, Dr. Baker writes at length. I quote a few of the most striking incidents submitted by Dr. Baker. In referring to the first practice tournaments he says: "From the beginning it was an elimination affair, and the goal sought was to remain in the longest and become the champion. Each team must be beaten twice before being eliminated. The women's team from the Teachers College at Ada., Okla., went through undefeated for 9 debates. Just before the last debate, one of the team members said, 'I just know if we win that debate and the tournament championship I shall faint.' And that is exactly what she did. They won the debate and she fainted; and her colleague went into hysterics, with the result that that was the last time she ever debated."

"At the same time the men's finalists had quite as dramatic and well nigh tragic result. The team

Reprinted from the Forensic of Pi Kappa Delta, October 1949.

from Park College had lost no debate, and went to the 10th round against the team from Wichita University which had lost one debate. But Wichita won that tenth debate. It was 1:30 Sunday morning when they started in on the eleventh debate. The first speaker from Park was going fine, when suddenly, with a dazed look, he put his hand to his face and stopped speaking. His mind had simply gone blank, and he would have fallen had not his colleague caught him, given him some water and mopped his face with a wet handkerchief. (All available judges had gone home, so Dr. Allen, Will Wright and I were judging this debate. Already I had been kept awake by watching Dr. Allen and Wright as they nodded and had a hard time keeping awake at all. But this woke them up!) Finally, the Park man went on. But the damage had been done. His colleague was so shaken that his speech was of little value. This bolstered up the Wichita fellows; so they won that debate and the championship—at 3:30 o'clock Sunday morning!"

Dr. Baker goes on to relate an unpleasant experience with judges. "We had some queer experiences with 'judges.' After one debate, when the decision of the judge was opposite to what all debaters and members of the audience expected, the judge went to one team and said, 'Your speeches were simply wonderful; I couldn't find any fault with them. But it was just too bad, dearies. You were on the wrong side. You just can't win on that side. Now if you will get on the other side, I'll be glad to give you the decision.' Yes, that was a woman; but we had even worse luck with some men. A team knew they had a cinch, for the opposing team was unusually weak. But a learned District Judge was the 'critic judge.' The debate over, when he went to offer his criticism and decision, he debated the whole question, and finally said, 'Your argument was perfect. I find no fault with it. But you are dead wrong. I will never give a decision to that side of the question.' Yes, I saw that he was 'blacklisted' and never called again."

Concerning slips and idiosyncracies that enlivened the hard work of the tournament, Dr. Baker says, "Ken Kitch one day took the floor to reply to a very emphatic and capable opponent. His beginning was: 'Our opponents have been trying to intimidate and ridicule us. But ladies and gentlemen, we are not at all excited or led astray by their sophistries. We propose to get right down to business and hard facts and to take the bull by the tail.' He could not understand why people laughed so, for he was not aware of the slip he had made."

Another incident that excited considerable interest occurred when the colleges were debating the Chain Store Question. "One team came in simply loaded down with quantities of soap, breakfast foods, etc., to show how the chain stores had special sized, smaller products to help them sell at lower prices. And those folks won almost all decisions. Another team made very effective use of a chart. They met a strong team. The last speaker on the affirmative came to the rostrum with a pained look on his face, and said, 'Our friends of the opposition do not seem to like our chart. They have just torn our little chart all to pieces' (softly rubbing and caressing the chart as he spoke). Then he turned and said, 'But we will just do the very best we can with what is left.' And without the chart, he made the best speech of his life, and won the debate and the tournament. He never used a chart again."

In closing, let me remind you that the debate tournament is unquestionably one of the largest developments in the field of forensics since the techniques for debating were devised. There are some who believe its popularity has reached its peak and is already on the wane. But let us bear in mind that it survived a period of great discouragement during the last war and in some areas has come back stronger than ever. And just recently highly influential groups have adopted it and added it to their repertoire of activities as a means of encouragement and better preparing its personnel for democratic expression.

International Debating

EDITORIAL NOTE

(The editor prints the two letters following, which are self-explanatory, as a matter of information and debate interest. For four seasons Japan has been debating, and is now reaching out for international debate relations. Certainly this is remarkable for two reasons: First, it illustrates the democracy of the New Japan since the World War II. Second, it shows the wide and significant results of bringing foreign students to American colleges and universities. May these two things continue to be and prosper. That Mr. Toshio Kanchi will reach the Committee on International Debating is assured, says Mr. Musgrave. That something can be done to promote debate relations with Japan will be in the hands of the proper committee and that big things may result, although not yet definitely assured, may be said to be at least launched.

(Here is the letter. We have printed it just as it was written, regardless of English idiom.)

ASAHI SHIMBUN
Tokyo
Sept. 28th, 1949.

To Mr. George McCoy Musgrave,
Care The H. W. Wilson Company
New York, U.S.A.
Dear Mr. Musgrave:

After six months of persistant struggle, I finally came across the kind of guide book I have long been looking for on the rules of debating contest; that is the revised edition of "Competitive Debate" published by you in 1946.

While I was a foreign student in the United States, which I had to give up half way after I got my M.A. because of the war, my steady interest was rested on this unique competitive sport of mentality. I had then a hunch that this game could be adopted in Japan some day; and I was right in the hunch. The Asahi Press, the biggest newspaper in Japan, is carrying its 4th Annual College-student Debating Contest this fall with increasing interest growing among the young intelligentzia whose shoulders the whole future of the country has to rest upon.

I had worked right, too, to be frank. Being a reporter working on the same paper, I was in good position to persuade the chief of the

Promotion Section. It was in the early part of 1946 that I submitted a plan sheet on the project supported morally by an officer (former journalist) of the G.H.Q. and the First Asahi College Student Debating Contest was announced in the summer of the same year . . . right in the hundreds of thousands of skeptical eyes.

This type of speech being entirely new to this country, both the sponsor and the participants were at a loss in the beginning, but today no body refuse to admit it being not only enjoyable but also an excellent educational medium to stimulate students to higher achievement of learning.

Regarding our rules, however, I had to compromise with students and the sponsor because they flatly refused to swallow up the American rules which I knew of, saying it's too abrupt. We, thus, made up as the tentative step what you might call the Japanese version of the debating rules. (I can send you a couple of books we published, upon your request.) But, now after 4 years of our experiences, I have another hunch that the time is riped enough for us to bring into more or less international base, so that we can meet any possible challenges from students abroad, and I began consulting with the Education Division of the G.H.Q. on the matter.

In this regard, the G.H.Q. officer in charge of higher education admitted the usefulness and reliability of your book for the particular purpose, but you must have further advice for us. So, if I am not asking you too much, I would like to have your good suggestions on this subject so that we can make this plan really successful. For example, if my memory is correct, some of your colleges has regular international debates with either Oxford or Cambridge annually, does it not? I would very much like to obtain the rules, too. And for another thing, our newspaper desires to have in the nearest possible future a match with American team, as soon as the matter of rules is settled. In this connection, we want to communicate with your friend Mr. Bruno Jacob, Executive Secretary of the National Forensic League.

In case of printing book or pamphlet on the revised rules for our debating contest, it is most certain that I have to depend a hundred per cent on your book of which I mentioned above. Would you kindly give us permission to take cream out of it? Or, it would be wonderful, if you give me an opportunity to translate the book as a whole into Japanese so that every interested youth (including non-students) can get fully acquainted with the subject and can have local matches in villages and towns on their own accord.

You might hear also from the G.H.Q. concerning this matter, but meantime I am writing for the Promotion Department, The Asahi Shimbunm Press, Tokyo.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Toshio Kanchi
The Asahi Shimbun Press
Yurakucho, Chiyodaku,
Tokyo, Japan

Here is the reply:

3805 Berkeley Drive
Toledo, Ohio
United States of America
October 17, 1949

Mr. Toshio Kanchi
The Asahi Shimbum Press
Yurakucho, Chiyodaku
Tokyo, Japan

Dear Mr. Kanchi:

Your letter reached me today. Your work in developing Japanese debating is certainly commendable, and I will do everytning possible to help

1. International debating:

This possibility sounds very attractive and I hope something can be worked out. I suspect that there are a number of American colleges who would welcome a debate of this kind in either the United States or Japan.

The Committee on International Debating of the Speech Association of America represents the various colleges of the United States in arrangements of this sort. Professor Brooks Quimby, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, is chairman of this committee. I will forward your suggestion, together with your address, to him promptly.

The National Forensic League is a high school group, and would not be the proper agency for arranging college debate.

2. Rules:

You probably understand that the rules of debate remained unpublished in this country until 1945, when the first edition of my book appeared. I tried to describe as accurately as possible those unwritten laws which teams followed, and which seemed logically justified. Even today, however, no **official** set of rules exists. Probably the average team sticks pretty close to the procedure I have described, but there is no requirement that it do so, and consequently some differences in procedure between sections of the country will be noted.

I anticipate that within five or ten years, there will be an official set of rules, possibly something close to the principles I have described, but that is something for the future.

Similarly, there are no rules for debate between American and British teams. When Professor Quimby contacts you, he can give you more information on this point, since he was one of the pioneers in developing debating between the U. S. and England. It is my impression that such debates are a mixture of U. S. and English styles, with the U. S. emphasis predominating in debates held in the United States, and the British emphasis predominating in debates held in England.

The differences apparently are not as great as one would think. The primary ones seem to be the British emphasis on speaking ability and sense of humor (combined to form a very effective presentation), contrasted with the American emphasis on evidence, analysis, and the drawing of conclusions from facts.

I am sure that any American participating in a contest of this sort would be glad to adapt its customary procedure to your wishes.

3. Publication of "Competitive Debate":

I would be delighted to see a Japanese translation of the entire book or any part of it, as you see fit. Such translations must clear thru channels approved by the Army, and must also bear the approval of the H. W. Wilson Company. I'll write you again soon, after I obtain more information on these points.

The books you mention having published would certainly be of interest to me, and I'll be glad to defray any costs involved if you would send me copies.

Which college did you attend in the United States? I was a student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at the time you mention,

The Debater and His Audience

By Edd Miller
University of Michigan

In recent years it has become clear that there has been a loss of interest in debating. This loss of interest becomes quite apparent when one considers that many schools have dropped debating from their list of extra-curricular activities because of lack of interest both on the part of debaters and on the part of audiences.* The present condition of debating becomes obvious, too, if one merely attends a debate and observes the very small size of the average audience. The days when several hundred people attended debates and were vitally concerned in the outcome of the debate have gone; the day, not too many years ago, when special trains brought debate audiences from one school to another to hear an inter-school debate has disappeared. The usual situation today is a debate before a practically empty room—a judge, the two coaches, and, sometimes, five or ten somewhat interested onlookers.

Many factors have contributed to this decline in the once great popularity of debate. For example, debating has a great deal more competition from other activities today than it ever had in the past. Improved transportation and communication make it possible for people to seek amusement and enlightenment in distant communities, rather than making it imperative for them to stay at hame for all their activities. Radio, motion pictures, and television have made tremendous strides and offer competition of a sort that debating cannot meet. Athletics have been organized to such an extent that the competition from football, basketball, and baseball as spectator sports is almost overwhelming. These things cannot be overlooked —competition from other activities has increased by leaps and bounds.

But the decline of debating is not due altogether to outside influences. On the contrary, some critics of debate maintain there are inherent basic faults within debating itself. While it is true that in these days of quick action and government by decree most controversial issues are settled long before debate teams can begin adequate preparation on them, still there is no lack of good debatable subjects—persistent and current problems that remain unsettled. Some argue that discussion and extempore speaking contests have more value to student speakers than debate. While it is true that these activities merit important places in a forensic program, still debate offers a most valuable type of training that cannot be acquired through either discussion or extempore speaking activities. It may be admitted that there are weaknesses in contest debate as it is practiced

* Mr. Miller was too polite to say because of lack of interest on the part of the teachers, which is perhaps the most potent reason. —Editor.

---

and we had several contacts with Japanese students.

You certainly are to be congratulated on your fine work in introducing debating to Japan, and you can count on every effort on your behalf that I can give.

Cordially,
George M. Musgrave.

The latest developments following the exchange of letters reported above is that the H. W. Wilson Co. and George M. Musgrave are granting permission for translation to be made of Mr. Musgrave's book into Japanese. Arrangements are being made through the Army of Occupation. "Competitive Debate," recognized in this country as a distinct contribution to American debating because it codified the rules of debate arrived at by common practice without written precept and placed on record. What a fortunate thing if debate is to be recognized beyond the English speaking peoples as a developer of future statesmen and legislative leaders.

SOCIALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

Continued from Page 151

we have first been told of our duty to our fellow men, now we are told of our duty to God. We need in all humility to confess our shortcomings and to show a contrite heart.

"The truly great are those who are least conscious of their greatness; they have no boastfulness, no vain-glory; they are without arrogance or self-assertion.

"It was in the true spirit of humility that Sir Isaac Newton, our greatest man of science, whose discoveries brought about greater evolution in thought, said: 'I do not know what I may apepar to the world: but to myself I seem to have been only like a little boy playing upon the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."

"This, I am sure, we all know is the true answer to the problems that beset the world today.

ROLE OF INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATE

Continued from Page 153

debating, to direct it in the path that will give a fair assurance of success as a worthwhile educational activity, and to safeguard it against exploitation and abuse? There may be other courses of procedure that might better be followed, but I, for one, am adverse to letting circumstances direct our course of action. I prefer that we set forth the course of action that is to be followed and shape the circumstances to fit that course.

I do not know whether tournament debating is here to stay, or whether it is just another innovation. I do know that it offers certain advantages. It also seems to be attended with certain difficulties. My plea is that we as teachers of speech shall recognize that the tournament is playing the leading role in intercollegiate debating today; that we as members of the Speech Association of America shall see to it that it plays that role under our direction; that we as an Association shall direct the conduct of these tournaments through an enunciation of policy and procedure, so that during its life, be it short or long, the tournament will serve us in the field of speech to its maximum capacity.

today, but these weaknesses, to use debate terminology, are not "inherent in the system." It is the thesis of this article that debate has declined in interest value and popularity because it has lost its "audience-appeal."

The fact is, debating has simply become dull and uninteresting to the average audience. Pretty largely, debates are aimed today at judges and empty rooms; all the emphasis is laid on cold logical case development, clear, incisive refutation, the winning of points and the winning of debates. In the development of clever strategic rules for good debating, the audience has simply been ignored. And so, the audience has, in turn, ignored the debates. Debaters who aim their speeches at a coach and a mastermind critic judge cannot expect the audience to attend, take copious notes and enjoy a keen, intellectual exercise. Audiences simply do not do that. As a rule, audiences demand education in a painless, interesting way. Intellectual labor is out of the question for the average audience. Attendence at almost any debate is proof enough that this kind of mental exercise is commonly expected of present-day audiences. In many places debate now has achieved the reputation of being sixty-minutes (or more) of dry, uninteresting, dull speaking, burdened with innumerable unpalatable facts and undigested quotations from "authorities." The factors of interestingness are apparently studiously avoided.

If we assume, as we should, that debate is worth preserving and improving, then a deliberate effort is needed to achieve a closer, more friendly relationship between the debater and his audience. How can this be done? Some approaches toward making debaters more audience-conscious and audiences more debate-conscious might be considered:

(1) Create more interest in debaters and in potential debaters. And the first step here is in improving the quality of the entire debate program, in recruiting debaters who are interesting people and capable speakers—at least, potentially.

(2) Coach teams for audiences, not for empty rooms. The coach should remember that a good audience debate will be a good debate for anyone—critic judge or panel of judges. His teams will probably win more debates if they conduct a good audience debate than if they adhere blindly to the formalized rules of debate and try only to get a decision from a judge. The judge should be looked upon as one member of an audience. His decision will nearly always go in much the same way as the decision of the audience.

(3) Analyze audiences carefully. No effective appeal can be made to an audience unless the speakers know ahead of time the kind of audience they will address. Debaters, like other speakers, should find out as much about the audience as they can and then plan and build their cases to appeal to the needs and experiences of specific audiences. This practice will mean that debates on the same subject should vary from audience to audience and that a debate before a high-school audience, for example, would be different from a debate before a downtown civic club, even though the proposition in each case is the same. A good speaker always aims his speech at his particular audience, and so should the good debater.

Excellent suggestions on audiences analysis in debating can be found in most debate texts. See, for example, J. M. O'Neill & J. H. McBurney, **The Working Principles of Argument** (New York, 1937), 67-68, 73-74, 81-82.

Use a style that will appeal to the audience. The debater should use lively, interesting language. He should select interesting evidence and facts. He should not load up a speech with too many statistics. He should make quotations from authorities and statistics vivid and appealing and, most of all, understandable. He should include humor and illustrations and make reference to local events, places and things the specific audience knows about and is interested in.

(5) Get other organizations interested in debate and debate program. One method is to get other clubs and groups to sponsor interschool debates. 2 This kind of sponsorship will not only insure a good nucleus of an audience, but will also insure a good amount of publicity on the debate. Combined with the appeal the debaters themselves can make in getting audiences, the appeal of another organization or several organizations should increase the size of the audience considerably, and probably increase the interest of the audience in the debate.

(6) Expand the debate program to include more people. An active intra-mural program can be organized. Not only will this help answer the objection that debating benefits only a few star speakers, but also those who have participated in debates will make good potential members of audiences. They will have interest in debating and want to hear debates as well as take part in them.

(7) Advertise widely. Student newspapers can be used to get publicity on debates and debaters. Posters, handbills, and word of mouth advertising can be used effectively. Too frequently audiences are small simply because more people do not know about debate.

(8) Use several debate questions during the year. Audiences naturally tire of hearing one proposition argued in every debate they attend. Three, four, five, six, or more different questions should be used. The extra work involved in preparation will pay dividends in the increased attendance at debates. If questions of local concern are debated, the audiences will be even larger. At any rate, an audience should not be bored to the point of disappearance by continual repetition of debates on the same subject.

(9) Select the best possible opponents. Debates will be better if the opposition is good than if it is inferior. Besides, nothing can be more deadly to the average audience than a slow-moving, dull debate with little or no real clash of arguments.

(10) Concentrate on conducting and taking part in a good debate, not simply on winning. Debaters should forget intricate strategic devices and remember that they are speaking to an audience and trying to influence an audience. If they de-

---

1 Excellent suggestions on audience analysis in debating can be found in most debate texts. See, for example, J. M. O'Neill & J. H. McBurney, The Working Principles of Argument (New York, 1937), 67-68, 73-74, 81-82.

2 As an example of the use of this method, see: Leroy Lewis, "You CAN Have a Debate Audience," The Speaker, 23 (Nov., 1938), 5-6.

bate well before an audience, debaters need not worry about decisions, because a good audience debate is a good critic-judge debate.

(11) Never forget to speak with and to your audience in a friendly conversational, easy manner. The debater should adapt his delivery to the audience and try to communicate with tnem. A debater should remember that he is not speaking in a vacuum, he is trying to inform and influnce an audience. The audience should not be neglected either in preparation or in delivery of a debate speech.

(12) Employ various types of debate. The customary contest-type debate with its sixty minutes of uninterrupted speaking has less appeal for an audience than any one of the special types of debate that involve cross-examination, heckling, many short speeches, etc. Never be afraid to experiment with these types of debate. Even though they may be more difficult to judge and hence less satisfactory for tournament debating, they are easier to listen to and much more satisfactory for audience debating.

(13) Encourage audience participation. It frequently pays to shorten speaking time in the debate in order to allow the audience to take part in a forum period after the debate. Audiences are more satisfied with a debate if they are allowed to take part in the proceedings. If audience participation periods were a regular feature of debates, there would be little or no problem in getting people to attend debates.

Debating should have advantages over and above those for the individual participating in the debate. There should be advantage to the people who hear debates—they, too, should profit by the experience. If the debater looks upon a debate as a means of informing and influencing people and not solely as a laboratory method for training himself as a speaker, then audiences will return to debates, audiences will be better ter informed by debates, and the skill of the debater himself will be improved, for there is no substitute for the true speaker-audience situation in the training of speakers.

The suggestions offered in this paper should lead not only to larger audiences, but to more interested, alert audiences. And with larger, interested audiences before him, the debater will pro... tremendously in his training, infinitely more than in the all too prevalent current situation of "empty-room" debates.

Departmeut of Discussion

Edited by Wayne N. Thompson

DISCUSSION CONFERENCE PROCEDURE

By Kim Griffin, Director of Debate
University of Kansas

THE purpose of this article is to analyze the problem of improving our discussion conference procedure and to report an experiment which was designed to solve certain problems inherent in our discussion activities as they are usually organized.

It is commonly agreed among discussion teachers and "coaches," when they gather in their meetings, hotel rooms, and around the coffee tables, that many of their students have a poor attitude toward our discussion activities. This attitude is not confined to the students alone; some teachers even go so far as to say, "I never bother to help my students prepare for discussion; all they need is a 'nice' attitude and good delivery, and they'll get a superior rating in discussion."

Let's analyze the problem a little more carefully. What are our goals? What do we want to happen at our discussion conferences? First of all, in problem - solving discussion (which is what we are dealing with in most of our colleges and high school discussion activities) we want our students to try to find the most defensible solution to the problem under consideration. In order to achieve this objective, we want our students to state the problem clearly, to analyze it, to consider its causes, and to look for inter-relationships, to consider all possible solutions, to evaluate them logically, and to agree as nearly as they honestly can on the most defensible solution or solutions. Perhaps one is doing violence to discussion theory as some people understand it, but it seems important to point out that argumentation plays a heavy role in the drama of discussion.

Now let's consider wnat the plaintiffs tell us often happens at our discussion conferences; they seem to agree on the following points:

1) Too much emphasis is placed ((by participants and judges alike) on a "nice" attitude, to the neglect of honest disagreement with fallacious reasoning.

(2) Too many participants "sum up" and make no contribution of argument or evidence or evaluation of argument and evidence.

(3 Too many participants "drag in by the heels" some bit of prepared information which sounds scholarly and impresses the judge, but which contributes little toward the group's analysis of the problem or evaluaition of solutions.

Wayne N. Thompson

(Too many discussions "don't get anywhere" (a phrase which means little in itself, but means much to the initiate).

(5) Too many judges admit they don't know "what to look for" when evaluating a discussion group in action.

In summary, it would seem that

part of our problem is caused by the emphpasis placed by judges on an artificial attitude of cordial courtesy and by their neglect of reasoned argument and evidence. The remainder of this article reports an experiment which aimed at attacking this problem.

II

This experiment, which was conducted in discussion classes at Kansas University included six steps: (1) The students were assigned to groups of four or five members each. (2) Each group was given the same discussion topic. (3) Two weeks were allowed for individual preparation on the topic, and a day was set aside for the students to meet and discuss on their own initiative. (4) The groups met and discussed the problem as they saw fit. There was no direction, guidance, interruption, or judgment on the part of faculty or staff. (5) At the end of the day, each group was given an hour for its members to present oral reports; as many reports were presented as there were different viewpoints. In cases where the majority of a group agreed on one viewpoint, the members of this majority group shared in presenting the report. These reports consisted of an analysis of the problem with argument in support of a specific solution. (6) Judgment of performance was made on the basis of careful analysis of the problem, cogency of argument, and sound evidence in support of a specific solution; thus the emphasis in evaluation was placed on the basic elements of argumentation. All members subscribing to the majority report received the same rating. A five-place poor-to-superior scale was used.

Since the members of each group, in effect, were competing against other groups who made their reports at the same time to different judges, there was great incentive to work together as a team.

After the series was completed and the ratings given out, we asked the students for evaluative comments. The following ideas were prominent:

(1) The members of the group were surprisingly earnest and sincere. No one recalled observing an artificial attitude of oppressive cordiality.

(2) Since the members knew that the final judgment would evaluate the constructiveness of their work, the analysis of the problem and evaluation of solutions seemed to be unusually sound and penetrating. (3) The participants were much concerned about dissenting voices when the majority report began to take shape; they seemed to be eager to weigh and evaluate each minority viewpoint expressed (probably fearing that such viewpoints, if later presented as a minority report, would show up the weaknes of their constructive work).

(4) The members of the groups showed a definite desire to work together as a team; they seemed to realize that due consideration for the ideas of every member would produce the best results.

(5) The students expressed the idea that the entire procedure was similar to "real-life" situations. They stated that their experience as committee members, club workers, and participants in student organizations indicated that the final evaluation of problem-solving discussion is the "outcome"—the workability and desirability of the proposal selected.

(6) Many members stated that if such a conference were repeated, they would spend much more time in preparatory work. They said that they now recognize more fully the need for definite information concerning the problem and its possible solutions.

(7) Many students liked the conference and expressed their desire to see it repeated. Some suggested that other schools and colleges should be invited to send delegates.

III

These statements of student opinion are not offered as **bona fide** evidence that this type of discussion has great merit. Nor are we attacking presently organized discussion conferences in the spirit of crusaders and reformers. We are honestly facing what seems to us to be a problem inherent in our discussion activities as we have known them.

Some discussion enthusiasts may say that our experiment really combines discussion with debate. With that comment we would agree in part, but in it we see no significant criticism. We have noted in the past decade that many writers who have taken up their philosophical pens in defense of discussion, and that, as often as not, intentionally or otherwise, have struck at their best friends and allies, the debaters, rather than at their real enemies, the apathetic, unlearned, unread, uninterested, and unquestioning followers of the demagogue and political trickster. To integrate discussion with the more desirable features of debate is a practical objective worthy of serious consideration. The principles of reasoning and applied logic seem to be the common meeting point.

The techniques employed in this experiment reported above is in any principles of discussion and debate: (1) It placed emphasis on the "end-product" of problem-solving discussion—the selection of the most defensible solution; (2) it stressed consideration of every possible solution to the problem; (3) it required cooperation among the group members, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end; (4) it put a premium on reasoned argument and evidence.

We doubt very much that the experiment reported above is in any sense a final answer. Further consideration and experience may show that it is not even a desirable one. The point of this article is not that we have the answer, but that we do have a very important problem: How can we place greater emphasis on the use of reasoning and evidence in our discussion activities?

COLLEGE NEWS NOTES

The Forensic of Pi Kappa Delta appears with a new format and a new printer in its Oct. 1949 issue, which is Series 25 Number 1. The Forensic was begun in 1912 by the Editor of Speech Activities, and was first issued in Redlands, California. For years it has been issued at Ft. Collins, Colorado, and for many of these years was under the editorship of Prof. Alfred Westfall of Colorado State College. Other editors have been John R. MacArthur of California Institute of Technology, Prof. George McCarty then of South Dakota State. The present editor is Dr. Wilbur E. Moore of Michigan Central School of Education, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

Three new chapters are written up in the October 1949 number of The Forensic University of Maine, University of Georgia, Atlanta Division, and Idaho State College of Pocatello.

The Southern California Debate League is debating the Federal Health Insurance question for the first semester.

Division of Public Address

Hiram Johnson, the Man Whom the People Believed

By E. Ray Nichols, Jr.

Mention of Hiram Johnson usually stimulates two reactions in the popular mind: that as a United States Senator, Johnson was a formidable "isolationist"; that as Governor of California, he drove the Southern Pacific out of politics. Both of these statements are true, but neither sheds any light on the qualities which made him one of the most influential speakers in recent years.

When Hiram Johnson began his political career in 1910, his audiences were handfuls of people gathered in the highways and byways of California. In the small towns and villages of the state they could be numbered in the fifties, the seventies, or the hundreds. At the height of his career in 1920, it was no novelty for eight thousand people to jam an arena to hear him and, at the same time, leave an overflow of several thousand in the street awaiting a second performance. Nor was such a crowd passive. It was loud and fervent in its vocal response to Johnson. Its cheers usually ended in the chant: "Johnson for President."

Hiram Johnson never became President of the United States, although he pledged an impressive number of delegates at the famous convention of 1920 in Chicago. He had two opportunities to become Vice-President, one of which would have led surely to the Presidency. The first failed in 1912 when the Progressive ticket, shared by Teddy Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson, was defeated. The second he spurned because he could not in good conscience share the ticket with Warren G. Harding.

Few men have proved themselves to be more influential in public office than did Hiram Johnson. It was he who provided the leadership for what Theodore Roosevelt characterized ". . . the most comprehensive programme of constructive legislation ever enacted at a single session of any American Legislature." This was the legislature which provided the statutes necessary to drive out the Southern Pacific and return the government of the State of California to the people.

On the national scene, the influence of Senator Johnson was significant in determining the fate of the Treaty of Versailles. It was he who toured the country from coast to coast, speaking personally to more people than any other man who opposed ratification of the treaty. It was on this trip that Hiram Johnson demonstrated most thoroughly his ability to control the emotions of mass audiences. To a large extent, the attitude of the American public toward foreign policy from 1920 to 1940 was molded by the speaking of Hiram Johnson.

The defeat of the Southern Pacific and the League of Nations are only two examples of the tremendous influence of Senator Johnson, but they are sufficient to stimulate the question: what was the source of Johnson's persuasive power? The first clue in determining the answer to that problem is found in the Senator's one basic political tenet: that the will of the people must rule. Because of this fundamental belief, it became necesary for Johnson to subject each political issue to the test of public opinion. As Governor of California, he had received the mandate of the citizenry for his program of reform. In return, he carried out that program to the last promise of his campaign speeches.

Hiram Johnson, as he appeared in the 1910 campaign

E. Ray Nichols, Jr., University of Oregon

Senator Johnson was following the same formula when he took the issue of the League of Nations to the people in 1920. The best intelligence available to the Senate in the spring of 1919 indicated that the people favored the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. This information was based on newspaper polls and the sentiment expressed by the more vocal groups of the nation's population. Senator Johnson did not believe that the sources polled represented the true feeling of the American people. Consequently, he undertook his speaking tour to put the issue squarely to the people. President Wilson was preceding him by a few days presenting the affirmative case for ratification in the major cities from coast to coast. Senator Johnson followed presenting a negative case which earned enthusiasm far exceeding that which Wilson was able to stimulate.

In addition to his belief that each

political issue must be forged in the name of public opinion, Johnson possessed another characteristic of extreme importance. The second clue needed to determine the source of his persuasive power may be found in this comment made by a listener at the conclusion of Johnson's speech in Riverside, California, during his 1910 campaign for Governor: "And the best part of it is that Johnson means just what he says." **The Los Angeles Express** made the following editorial statement:

"There is the ring of truth in all that this man tells the people. We doubt not that he would persevere in the policies he declares were the assured penalty the end of his political career, and the death of every ambition he holds dear. It is as he says:

" 'No lure of office or reaching out after votes can change me one whit in the object I have set out to accomplish. What we set out to do within the Republican party can be accomplished within the government of California'

"There speaks a man who is the master of himself—there speaks a Governor of whom California has the utmost need."

Evidence gathered from one end of the State of California to the other proves conclusively that the most frequent reaction to the speaking of Johnson was unbounded enthusiasm for his sincerity. The people believed what he said. They could not help themselves.

Hiram Johnson, Jr., and prominent attorney in the City of San Francisco, relates the following incident which occurred after his father was elected to the governorship. Hiram Johnson was visited at the Capitol by an official of the Southern Pacific Railroad. During the conversation, Johnson asked the visitor why they were so set against him for Governor when both he and the Democratic candidate had declared themselves against the Southern Pacific. The answer was: "Because we believed you!"

Before attempting to answer the question: 'Why did the people believe Hiram Johnson?" it is necessary to understand the situation which prevailed in California when he began his campaign for Governor. That the state, politically, was under the control of the Southern Pacific, there is no doubt. The following quotation from **The Los Angeles Express,** October 25, 1910, emphasizes this statement:

". . . the Southern Pacific Railroad has played here the part of a corruptionist. It has debauched the government of the state and the county, and in this city deliberately allied itself in partnership with vicious and obscene elements. It named the present Governor, it owns the present railroad commission. It has sent its creatures to the present legislature. It has interfered in every phase of political life in the state and county . . ."

In accepting the Progressive nomination for Governor in 1910, Hiram Johnson confronted a most powerful chain of interlocking political machines. They included the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Republican machine, the United Railroads which controlled the street railways of San Francisco, the major utility companies, and other interests of lesser significance. In addition, almost all of the metropolitan newspapers opposed Johnson. These included the **Los Angeles Times,** the **San Francisco Chronicle,** and the **San Francisco Examiner.**

Speaking of Johnson's chances in this compaign, Wililam Kent, former Congressman from the second California district, has stated:

"Johnson was selected by the Progressive element of the Republican party to lead a forlorn hope for the redemption of California. He could ill afford the commission for it meant a great loss to a growing law practice, and an aparently unjustifiable expenditure of time and money."

Hiram Johnson himself has stated:

"When I started, I had not the remotest expectation of success. I did believe the struggle must be made, and that I might be able to clear the ground and plant the seed from which the harvest should ultimately be reaped by someone else."

In beginning his campaign, the task which faced Johnson was twofold: first, although it was not necesary to convince the people of the need for reform—since this was obvious—it was necessary to convince them that his election meant reform; second, he had to find a means of getting his message to the citizenry.

The only answer to the last problem, since Johnson had little newspaper support, was to speak to the people in person. Beginning with a speech at El Cajon May 10, 1910, he campaigned without stint. Working the state from border to border and from the mountains to the shore, he traveled thousands of miles, much of it by automobile, in order to present his message in even the most obscure villages. His familiar red car, driven by Hiram Johnson, Jr., crossed and recrossed the state. In each village the car stopped at the central corner, the bell was rung, and the candidate made his appeal to as many citizens as would gather around him. Frequently Johnson delivered as many as twelve or fourteen speeches in one day.

This, then, was the situation. But what did Johnson say, and in what manner did he say it, to cause the people of California to elect him Governor by the largest plurality ever achieved up to that time?

Johnson's own statement sums up briefly what he said:

"When I commenced this campaign I presented one definite and concrete issue: Shall the people of the State of California take back to themselves the government of this State, or shall he government remain the asset and the chattel of Wililam F. Herrin and the S. P. Co.? I went directly to the people, fighting in the open, pointing out the evil existing and unequivocally announcing my determination to kick out of the Republican party and the government of the State Herrin and the S. P."

The manner of speaking which made Johnson convincing can be ascertained through a study of his speeches and the reactions of his listeners. The forthrightness of Johnson's manner is illustrated by the following remarks made in San Diego:

"I am here tonight because this is the only place where there has been talk of a delivery of the people to William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific Railroad. The one thing we have made the basis of this fight is the elimination forever of the Southern Pacific from our government.

"We are fighting not in rancor or ruthless revenge, or with hostility, but we are going forward till the work is done."

In Santa Maria he continued with much the same force and directness:

"We are going to wage this fight until every interest that is inimical to free government, every influence which has debauched and polluted it in the past has been driven out. We are not making any warfare upon honestly vested enterprises. Our struggle is political.

"I am not going to waste any time telling you I want to see the wheels of industry go around. I am not going to unfurl our starry banner and wave it about your heads. If you want to hear that sort of thing take it for granted that is all said.

"I shall not indulge in any political claptrap or buncombe . . .

"There is revolt in every State. This is an impending political revolution."

Johnson not only possessed directness in language and force in presentation, but he had the ability also to see issues clearly and to express them with the ardor of a zealot. The **Riverside Daily Press** put it in this fashion:

"He has recognized that all over the country the great issue is the one so clearly defined by Roosevelt —the combination of crooked business and crooked politics and the importance of protecting the rights of the people against the encroachments of 'the interests.' And because he has had the clearness of vision to see the importance of this issue, and the unflinching courage to meet it, the people of the state have come to believe in Hiram Johnson as the man of the hour in California, just as they believe in Roosevelt as the man of the hour in the nation . . .

"And it may be said of many of Hiram Johnson's addresses that they sound more like the inspiring appeals of some prophet or crusader of the truth delivered from a pulpit than like speeches of a politician seeking for votes. But in the year 1910 the people are ready for just that sort of an appeal and they are responding to it in a way that points to the election of Johnson by a tremendous plurality."

Hiram Johnson had another important characteristic which gave influence to his manner of speaking. This was his ability to talk intimately with his audience. Fremont Older, editor of the **San Francisco Call,** described the following incident which occurred in Soquel:

"Johnson was standing in his automobile in front of a grocery store talking to about fifty townspeople. His listeners had crowded up close to the automobile and were listening intently. Johnson was talking to them in a low, intimate, earnest tone, as if each man was a personal friend. I have never before or since seen an audience so moved by a political speaker."

In commenting upon his father's speaking, Hiram Johnson, Jr., has indicated another factor of importance, his unerring ability to assess the reactions of his audience. An incident which took place in the courtroom illustrates the use which Johnson made of his sensitivity in this regard.

During the graft trials in San Francisco, Hiram Johnson, together with two other prominent lawyers, J. J. Dyer and Matt I. Sullivan, had taken over the prosecution after Francis J. Heney had been shot down in the courtroom. By mutual consent, Johnson took the lead in presenting the case for the prosecution. Upon one occasion, Johnson was setting forth a cogent line of argument for the jury, when, all of a sudden, he stopped, pondered a moment or two, and then began to speak again. He had changed completely his line of argument. He continued the new theme to the end of his address. When he sat down Sullivan and Dwyer asked him why he had stopped in the middle of the strong argument he was pursuing. Johnson answered imediately that it was not going over with the jury.

The significance of this is that Johnson was able to select and use the arguments to which his audience was receptive. This, of course, would not have been possible without Johnson's extreme facility in extemporaneous presentation.

All of the factors mentioned—his directness, his force, his ability to set forth issues clearly, his crusading style of appeal, his intimate, earnest tone, and his sensitivity to audience reaction contributed heavily to Hiram Johnson's ability to make people believe him.

The spirt of Hiram Johnson is epitomized by the two quotations which his family have inscribed upon his sarcophagus in Cypress Lawn Cemetery, San Francisco. The first emphasizes his devotion as a patriot; the second commemorates the source of his power, his belief in the people.

WITHOUT A SIGN HIS SWORD THE
BRAVE MAN DRAWS
AND ASKS NO OMEN BUT HIS
COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

—Homer.

THIS SINGLE FAITH IN LIFE AND
DEATH AND ALL ETERNITY'
THE PEOPLE, LORD, THY PEOPLE,
ARE GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME.

Kipling.

NEWS NOTES

Professor J. Garber Drushal is currently on leave of absence from the College of Wooster for graduate study at Ohio State University. During his absence, James A. Grissinger, formerly of Ohio State University, is directing the forensic activities. Prof. W. C. Craig, head of the Speech Department, is sponsoring the D.S.R. Chapter while Professor Drushal is absent.

H. L. Ewbank, Jr. (University of Wisconsin) is assistant coach of forensics at the University of Hawaii this season.

Eldon T. Smith of Ohio Wesleyan was recently elected president of the Ohio Association of College Teachers of Speech. He is chairman of the Department of Speech at Bowling Green State University and a former debater.

S. Addison Hickman, former D.S.R. debater (IU '37) is now Professor of Economics at the State University of Iowa.

Mildred Ann Ditty, former director of debate of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., has moved to the University of Pittsburgh. Here she directs the activities of the Women's Debating Association and teaches in the speech department.

Fred S. Robie, Director of Debating at the University of Pittsburgh, has been elected Executive Secretary of the Debating Association of Pennsylvania colleges for a term of three years. Mr. Robie will also edit the Journal of the Association.

Delta Sigma Rho has just granted a charter to the debate group at Mundelin College, Chicago. Dr. Hugo E. Hellman, of Marquette University, was the installing officer, at the charter ceremonies May 25, 1949.

Department of College Oratory

MY PAPER DOLL

By John W. Low
Nebraska Wesleyan University

A FEW years ago a rather nonsensical song came out entitled, "I'M GOIN' TO BUY A PAPER DOLL." I had a PAPER DOLL once, though I didn't buy it. It was a B-25 that carried 4000 lbs. of Rdx bombs in her bombay. We were trying to settle an issue over Kipling's Mandalay. Our job was to breach the 30 ft. wall of old Ft. Dufferin so the British, who had been held up for weeks, could move in. And when the smoke cleared away we saw that we had brought about a settlement. That's one way to settle an argument.

Dr. Brigance says there is one other way: we can shoot it out or we can talk it out—we can either do it the PAPER DOLL way or the way we're doing it here tonight at Bowling Green. The oldest organization in America for talking problems out is the Interstate Oratorical Association.

On February 27, 1874, almost three quarters of a century ago now, six college men faced the first Interstate Oratorical competition. The first speaker was Mr. H. C. Adams, and his speech, THE STUDENT AND THE MYSTERIOUS. (One wonders if a real student was a mystery even in the good old days.) Next, Mr. McCoy . . . . CONSERVATISM. Now the program breaks, for next came Mrs. Charles G. Hurd who sang the operatic solo CAVATIMA FROM LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR.

We get back to the contest with T. Edward Egbert . . . THE HEART, THE SOURCE OF POWER. Frank E. Brush . . . IDEAS. THEIR POWER AND PERMANENCE. Time out again for music, THE BLUE DANUBE WALTZES by the Grand Orchestra. Then George T. Foster, (this one might easily be tonight) . . . . THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. Finally Mr. W. W. Wharry . . . LABOR AND LIBERTY OR THE MISSION OF AMERICA. According to the press "he delivered in an easy manner and retired amid applause." After him retired the judges who had been chosen by the Governors of the three states involved. Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa. While they deliberated Mrs. Hurd sang again. It is hoped that her selection had no significance in regard to the situation, for it was the ballad, FIVE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING. By the end of the song the decision was ready — T. Edward Egbert of Chicago University had won with THE HEART, THE SOURCE OF POWER. Thus ended the first Interstate Oratorical Contest. Every year since then somewhere in the middle west a similar contest, minus Mrs. Hurd and the Grand Orchestra, has been held, making this the oldest and largest oratorical association in the nation.

Topics in contests have been as varied as the people who fathered them, but one can see trends from the general to the specific, from the heart to the head, and from the eulogy to the problem speech.

With only the exceptions which prove the rule, the first speeches were theoretical, abstract, and general. Like Mr. Egbert's, they were of the heart or some similar subject. Many of the other early orations were eulogies. Now lately, our press has pointed out that we are a nation without heroes. We are urged to remember that Washington owned slaves and was one of our biggest land speculators. Wilson may have been a Messiah to Europe; here he was quite a lady's man. Lincoln is emancipator in the North; a damn nigger lover in the South. And how many books have been written about Harding's illegitimate daughter? Will Rogers described the situation perfectly when he once said, "We elect our Presidents, and then we go home and dare 'em to make good."

In the early speeches, especially, college men somewhat countered this trend, for many of the winners were eulogies. The over use of the eulogy disappeared with the coming of Pi Kappa Delta, but the speech of praise still occupies an honorable place.

In 1885, eleven years after the first contest, we see the first problem oration strong enough to win. Albert Beveridge spoke on the conflict of labor and capital. Here was the beginning of more specific and realistic considerations. Following the labor problem by just two years came the race problem in an oration entitled JOHN BROWN. Since that time social problems have become more and more popular as topics for consideration. When Pi Kappa Delta became very active in the 20's we began to get speeches on such subjects as: unemployment, birth control, crime, education, medical science, juvenile deliquency and many others.

Political topics did not become popular until after the first World War. And then there was a flood. Most of them were about peace related topics. If history repeats itself we are going to get a lot of peace orations again—and that is good! Because, remember, as Dr. Brigance said there are only two ways to solve a problem: shoot it out or talk it out. There are no alternatives. The problems of the world must be solved here or on the battle field. The forensic platform is the only training ground which higher education provides for the men, who tomorow, must solve them.

On a tonight long ago young Bob LaFollette won for Wisconsin — a Senator was in the making. On another tonight Ed Hughes represented Ohio and as he stepped from the platform he came a step nearer to his manhood and the bishopric of the Methodist Church.

On a later tonight the younger of the Maurer brothers, Irving, won for Beloit. And I suppose no one guessed that the future president of the institution was sharpening his tools. Business men, ministers, Congressmen; educators, lawyers; these are the men who yesterday walked this platform contending these issues. And I repeat—we must either settle our future with the tools we use here tonight, or as I was trying to do two years ago tonight with my PAPER DOLL releasing her bombs over Mandalay.

Let's line them up. Hannibal's weapons on one side. Aristotle's on the other. Remember, there are no others. Over here we'll hang a hatchet: here the text of a speech called the Sermon on the Mount. Next the crossbow vs. the Magna Charta. Then 405 years later in a new country men are making ready the Mayflower Compact, "drawn in ye name of God." The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights vs. the musket,

With the Forensic Honor Societies*

Hail and Farewell

By ECBERT RAY NICHOLS

Yesterday we were not here. Today we are. Tomorrow we shall be gone. These three brief sentences are the epitome of life. In the great stream of eternity we spend the brief moment of life crossing the stage of existence to tomorrow. We live through many scenes, act out parts in many comedies, tragedies and heartfelt dramas, important to us in our brief day, but little more than momentary arrangements of particles in the broad expanse of human existence. Like kaleidoscopic patterns that shape and fall, change and fall again at the turn of a master hand, the scenes of our lives pass from day to day and leave nothing but a memory, cherished perhaps by our fellow actors, or forgotten lightly by a posterity bent upon achieving its own pattern and its own success.

Out of the limbo of the past, may I hold up a few pictures before you, with nothing else to commend them but their humanness, that you may share with me for a brief moment some of the things that cling in my subconscious mind and emerge occasionally to be reviewed and lived over again before the ruthless hand that wields the scythe cuts off everything and assigns my day to oblivion. Most of those scenes deal with people—people I have known well and loved better for the parts they played with me and before me on life's revolving stage.

Like all mankind I fondly hope that all we have achieved and all that I have cherished will live on beyond my time and serve those who follow me. It is in this category that I place Pi Kappa Delta and all that it has become, one of the most treasured episodes in a busy life, one of the things I can bequeath with most joy to those of you who know it, and love and treasure it.

Twenty-five years ago this spring I stood here in Bradley University at the Fifth National Convention of this order. It was the first of a long line of hotel conventions, a transitional one as this one is today. It was our first with a real venture into contests. Picture me presiding over the first National Oratorical Contest for women. Our National President, Charles A. Marsh had a contestant in that meet. Our newly elected National President, presiding here tonight, also had a contestant in it. I remember challenging the audience to guess with me on the outcome. Rashly I publicly picked the first three places and announced my guess while the judges' ballots were being collected. Still more rashly I made a guess as to which one of the three would be first, which second, and which third. Then I opened the tally sheet placed in my hands and read the results. Behold I was a prophet! My guess had tallied 100 per cent correct. I can still see those three smiling, happy girls getting their awards. Later in the lobby of the hotel, National President Charles A. Marsh admitted that he had hesitated to bring his orator because he did not think she was good enough. And now I can see her coming up to him in that lobby with her cup in her arms and chiding him: "Now aren't you glad you brought me?"

Other scenes from that convention force their way up. I see Jim Brougher, Roger Walch, and Dwayne Orton, going up and down the aisles of this chapel with baskets of oranges wrapped in purple paper, throwing them along the rows to the delegates. That stunt might have been duplicated tonight had not an unkind fate sent winter to visit where summer lives as host. Still another view presents itself. William H. Veatch stands there pleading with a group of us old moss-backs for the privilege of holding the first National Pi Kappa Delta debate tournament. At last he convinced us that youth could put it over, and look at the myriads of pictures I might have held up on tournament debating throughout these years.

One other scene I must review for you because it so aptly illustrates Pi Kappa Delta grit and sportsmanship. It is the picture of a country boy, plucky, tall and angular, practicing steadily on extempe topics hour after hour on the back platform of a speeding transcontinental train, until he gained an amazing efficiency—an efficiency that defeated him. For I remember Charles H. Woolbert apologizing to me and others for giving him last place when the two other judges gave him first, using the age old, tragic explanation—"He was too good to be true. I thought he had it all memorized." And I can see that boy, ill with a high fever that almost prevented him from getting to the platform, slipping away to hide his disappointment in his hotel room. Gamely he left a sick bed to go to Chicago with us, but could not enjoy the sights of the big city or the singing waiter at the Terrace Garden of the Morrison Hotel, so moped out the day in a hotel bed. We got him aboard the train for home, and next morning discovered him broken out with the measles! Loyally we duped the train officials for fear they would put him off the train into a hospital before we could get him home—Russell A. Andrus—now serving Uncle Sam in Rangoon, Burma, with the same courageous, fighting, Pi Kap spirit.

Yes, it was a great convention—that one twenty-five years ago. We pioneered so many things that have become Pi Kappa traditions and triumphs. But let us pull out another leaf from convention scenes. Let us go to Houston, Texas. There is J. D. Coon negotiating the broad marble stairs of the hotel with a hop, step, and jump yelling at the top of his voice: "Nick, Nick! That man of yours in extempe. I've been waiting for him for ten years! He's going to win!—and he did. Carl Weston McIntosh, now president of Idaho College at Pocatello. There isn't time to tell you why J. D. was so excited.

One other scene. I see us on the business floor of the convention arguing, contending, fighting earnestly, bitterly for conflicting points of view until many lost their tempers and hard words were uttered. It was a wild, tumultuous scene—as bitter as the fight at Tiffin over the race issue, where one angered delegate called the presiding officer a "dirty crook". Many were dismayed and

* Address before the opening session of the Pi Kappa Delta National Convention, Peoria, Illinois, April 1st, 1949.

wondered if Pi Kappa Delta could survive. Yet at the banquet that night sanity and faith in one another returned, selfishness broke before the greatness of Pi Kappa Delta spirit. We came to see that Pi Kappa Delta was greater than the ambitions of any one of us or group of us, that we could not stubbornly jeopardize its future. And so we forgave one another, and together joined to make needed changes and build a greater Pi Kappa Delta, founded on faith in one another and love of our fellow men. Life had taught us a great lesson: in union there is strength; in faith, forgiveness, and in honest service there is —nobility.

Enough of the past—none of us can do it justice. It is a flood of remembered scenes with human actors we have loved—sometimes trivial, sometimes great, momentous, important, all of them, to us who lived them and remember.

Today we face the challenge of the future. We face it confidently. With a past like ours there has to be a wondrous future. It is inevitable. Let us build with careful workmanship upon that past—upon its spirit. What is that spirit? A brave attempt to do our best in the face of anything and everything. To meet the challenge of the future in fairness, justice, tranquility, undismayed. To listen to the suggestions of the humblest, to counsel eagerly with the wisest, and to stand ever ready to cooperate and to work out the future boldly and worthily, to trust to the best in our fellow men, and to give our best loyally and faithfully to the end. That is the spirit of Pi Kappa Delta.

Today we are called upon to make decisions about the future of things we have stood for, organized to carry on, to practice and to treasure—perhaps to give up some of the things we think we can do alone, but which can be done better if we share with others. An organization of Directors of Speech Activities is in the offing, is knocking on our door for help and encouragement. Plans for improvement and betterment of the things we are pledged to confront us. Let us not bark like dogs in the manger, but let us wisely, generously, and in a spirit open to conviction meet them like ladies and gentlemen. Let us be fair and steadfastly honest, and practice in our deliberations a persuasion that is really beautiful and just. For today we are here, profiting because of yesterdays that were, but ever remembering the welfare of those who will be here, when we are gone to return no more.

Remarks for the Good of the Order

BRING BACK THE LOSERS

Malcolm Sillars
Iowa State College

About every time we open a journal devoted to our field of endeavor we find an article that tells us about some long suffering experience that a fellow debate coach went through and then tells us how to cure this blight on our trade. Being a glutton for punishment is not one of the noblest of virtues, but it is in my mind valuable, if not essential if forensics is to be a mainstay of college life. The future of forensics and a part of our present difficulties lie in the underestimation of these experiences.

Let us admit from the first that there are many occasions when we as coaches are forced to suffer round after round of dull, uninteresting tournament debates. Before we condemn this experience, it is better for us to analyze what we asked for when we chose debate work as a part of our lives and what we should have expected when we made this choice.

We are, after all, debating for a specific purpose. As far are can be determined that purpose is to give the training of debate to students so that they can better meet the problems in the outside world as better communicants. It means further that we want to give students the opportunity to practice, while in school, the skills that in later life will be desirable. We want to make the way easier for the student to use these skills in every day contacts and in speaking situations in which he will find himself.

As a training mechanism, continued practice is the best method of developing the skills of a good speaker and conversationalist. The tournament, although it does lack the vitality of an audience, is the best method available at this time to meet this need. It is a means to an end. It is definitely not an end in itself. Therefore, it becomes increasingly obvious that the criticism we level against the tournament speaker is an unjust one, because he is in the training process, not the result of it. It is the same as expecting the fundamental student to have complete self confidence and to hold the audience's interest in his first speech. There are some beginners who will be capable of doing this. In the tournament there will also be some who, because of training or natural talent, will hold even the most time-worn judge's attention. We must learn, and now, that the tournament is devised to train speakers at all levels of perfection, not merely at the highest peak.

This, of course, is a fact that we admit when confronted with it, but deny in our atitude. When it is considered in the light of our present situation in forensics, it becomes quite evident that we are dealing with the core and not a secondary principle of our field. When we concentrate on the good and degrade the poor speakers and teams we are putting the emphasis on winning and not on training. As a tool in democracy, debate opportunity should be given to as many as possible. The current manifestation of the problem, I believe, is that we are rapidly falling into the danger of developing an aristocracy of the excellent.

The fact that we must change our attitude towards the poorer speakers does not release us from the responsibility of giving our men and women as thorough a training as possible. The forensics director should be held responsible for giving his student speakers all the possible help and experience he can offer. However, enough cannot be accomplished in class; more must be done in the only available medium where we can take second rate speakers and put them on their own. This tournament, full of its bugaboos, should not be expected to do any more than to give students experience. Of course, there are those who go on to the finals and there are also those who meet other teams at home and on the road before audiences. Because of their experience and natural ability, they will be able to profit by this added opportunity.

There seems to be little to worry about with the good speaker, but let's take a look at what we can, and in many cases are doing, to ourselves and our activity by attempting to make his progress the sole aim of our work.

One of the biggest difficulties that we face is the lack of funds for carrying on our program. We do not understand why the student body will not stand behind the work we are doing. There is an obvious reason for this. It lies in the fact that the student body doesn't even know that we exist. We have selected a segment of the group to represent us instead of a cross section. With a large cross section of the student body at least working in our activity everyone knows someone who debates. Instead of "Debate? Oh, do we have a debate team?" the reaction will change to "Debate? Yes, Sam Johnson, a frat brother of mine, is a debater." We also defeat the idea that is so apt to crop up in our student body that debaters are somehow a little bit "queer."

In the long run, the lack of response since the war to debate cannot be merely attributed to the war. The post war period has been a scapegoat for everything. The truth of the matter is that debaters as such do not hold any stature on the campus because they are a small group on the outside looking in. Despite the fact that you know these men and how fine they are, not enough others share this same knowledge. Imagine for a moment what would happen if the football captain and the high-scoring forward on the basketball team were active in debate. The number in women's debate alone would be multiplied several times. There is no reason why these men should not be active and you have probably known some that should have carried the load. But we'll never get them out as long as they have the feeling that they aren't good enough. As soon as someone isn't good enough, we must look out because it's then that they oppose our activity. And if football players are prone to be elected to student positions at your school and the the student body controls your finances, you are going to have to moan for that extra five hundred dollars next year.

Let's revise our attitudes and set up a more intelligent program of service to our youth.

1. Prove that we're not narrow by encouraging all those who want to to participate in this activity.

2. Provide them with as much tournament and outside activity as we can find to hold their interest.

Don't neglect the good teams, but give help to all of our men and women as though they were the varsity.

4. Give every interested student every encouragement to try out for the big trips, even though they probably won't be able to go.

5. Most important of all—the debate you judge may be dull but don't show it. Be glad that you have seen one sign that debate is not near death in the cloister of the more academically proficient. The only way that we can tell when debate and not the thrill of winning is being taught, is when the losers return to competition.

FORENSICS AT THE GRASS ROOTS

Ralph A. Micken

Sponsor, Iowa State College Chopter

In cooperation with the adult education section of the Extension Service, Iowa State Debaters have for the past several years carried on an interesting series of debates and discusions called the Community Visits. These visits are made throughout the state, to Farm Bureau township halls, adult education classes, church clubs, high school assemblies and service club dinners. Since the second year of the program we find that we have a score of steady customers—communities to which we are invited year after year, but each winter we add to our list and take on new visits. Trips may vary in length from over one hundred miles to four or five miles. They come at night or noon as a rule. Last winter we limited the number of sessions to thirty, but even this limitation left us with one hundred and twenty participations from a Debaters personnel of about eighty.

Procedure for setting up this program is well established. In the fall the off-campus commitee of Iowa State Debaters selects five or six current issues of state, national, or international interest and puts them in the form of discussion topics. These are then talked over with the Agriculture Extension Sociologists. What this really amounts to is clearing the subjects with Dr. William H. Stacy, Delta Sigma Rho '17, who is one of the mainstays of the Community Visits program. From the preceding process comes the final list of subjects, and the club immediately sets out to study these. This year's list of subjects, which is fairly representative, is as follows:

1. What should be done about national farm price supports?

2. What constitutes a good home?

3. Should educational opportunities be equalized through Federal grants?

4. What is the present status of Russian-American relations?

5. Should the Taft-Hartley Law be repealed?

6. How is E. R. P. working out?

7. What should be our attitude toward the Chinese conflict?

Frequently a subject is a follow-up on some topic of the preceding year. An example of this is our current E. R. P. subject, which has been called for in communities where speakers discussed the pro and con of the Marshall Plan a year ago. As an endorsement of the timeliness of the National Debate subject concerning Federal Aid to Education, we find that it is usually in demand in the various communities, even though we make no deliberate attempt to use this activity as a training ground for intercollegiate debate.

A letter is prepared for state-wide distribution. This letter goes to the county extension directors of the state, to certain superintendents of schools, and to program directors of service clubs. The limiting factor on our mailing list is accessibility of the community. Early in the series we were forced to decline invitations to some places because of the time it would have taken to reach them. We avoid overnight trips.

The student reaction to these trips has been very interesting. They are probably our most popular form of forensic activity at Iowa State. As a matter of fact, in an ordinary season twelve or thirteen of our speakers limit their participation almost entirely to community visits. Reasons for student enthusiasm go well beyond the fact that visitors are frequently treated to wonderful country dinners. Debaters like the idea

* From the Gavel of Delta Sigma Rho. March 1949. P. 50.

that there is much vigorous participation from the floor. There is none of the feeling of taking part in a little performance or entertainment which sometimes characterizes the appearance of "college boys" on an adult program. The setting for these meetings engenders the feeling of getting down to cases. The fact that speakers could reach out and put a hand on members of the audience at any of these meetings seems to encourage free interchange of comment. Whenever a call goes out for volunteers for one of these trips, we are forced to disappoint several speakers, but in the course of the winter all of these are taken care of.

It has been of some interest to us to discover what methods of presentation are most popular with our audiences. Originally the meetings were organized on a panel discussion basis. Our speakers, and occasionally one or two speakers from the community, formed a panel to discuss a subject for twenty minutes to a half hour, after which participation from the audience was invited. As time went on we turned to methods of debate. People wanted cases presented for and against the various proposals. In response to this desire for "pro" and "con" presentation, most of our meetings begin with a series of five to eight-minute speeches—two affirmative and two negative. After this the presiding officer invites audience participation. What happens after that is unpredictable, but almost always interesting. Heated discussions are the rule, with citizens of the community taking sides and vigorous give and take continued until late at night. Often a vote is taken, and occasionally the minority members for the evening are not satisfied with one vote but demand another ballot. Not at all infrequently certain members of the community have been warned to come with overwhelming proof in defense of their chosen side. Such sneakers have been known to make things very uncomfortable for seasoned veterans of intercollegiate advocacy.

Frequently the objection has been advanced that the kind of activity of which we have been talking encourages haphazard preparation and mediocre presentation. With some topics this criticism might be justified, but debaters have discovered that if they are to discuss the topic

Turn to Page 180

Technically Speaking

George M. Musgrave

A Department of Technical Information or Question Box

READERS' QUIZ

So you read this magazine! Well, test yourself with this quiz. All questions have been answered in one or more issues of **Speech Activities.**

1. How long has there been an annual national debate topic for colleges?
   a. Three years (1946)
   (b) Eleven years (1938)
   c. Twenty-six years (1923)
   d. Thirty-eight years (1911)
   e. Fifty-two years (1897)

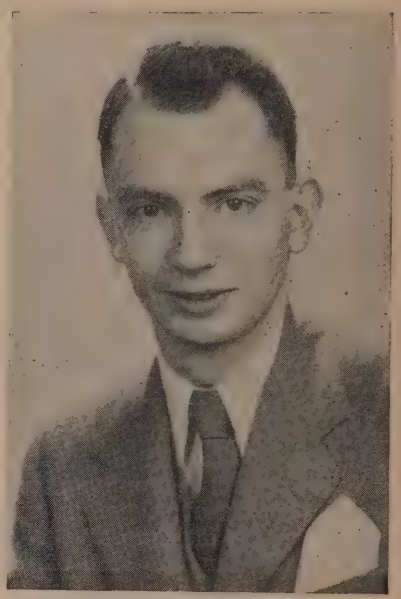
2. True or false: Great Britain has indicated that because of economic problems and Union schedules she will permit only one visiting team from the United States in 1949-1950. The restriction, however, is temporary in nature, and is expected to end after two years at the most.

3. Winner of the national intercollegiate debating tournament at West Point last spring was:
   a. University of Alabama
   b. Baylor University
   c. University of Vermont
   d. Ottawa University

4. Was the winning team undefeated at the West Point tournament?
   a. Yes. It won every debate.
   b. It lost one debate to the University of Kansas in the seeding rounds.
   c. It lost three out of eight debates in the seeding grounds, but was undefeated after the elminations started.

5. The new major organization in the debating field is:
   a. An association of high school coaches
   b. An association of college forensic directors
   c. The Speech Association of America
   d. A new honor society, as yet unnamed, which combines Pi Kappa Delta, Delta Sigma Rho, and Tau Kappa Alpha
   e. An association of outstanding high school debaters

6. Which of the following was **not** actively connected with debating in high school debates



George McCoy Musgrave

   a. Senator Carl Mundt
   b. Representative Francis H. Case
   c. President Harry S. Truman
   d. Wendell Willkie
   e. Bishop Marshall A. Reed
   f. General Ira Eaker
   g. Senator Wayne Morse

7. This year's high school topic is:
   a. Resolved, that the United Nations should now be revised into a federal world government.
   b. Resolved, that the United States should adopt a policy of economic controls as opposed to a policy of free economy.
   c. Resolved, that the President of the United States should be elected by a direct vote of the people.
   d. Resolved, that the United States should nationalize the basic non-agricultural industries.
   e. Resolved, that the United States should establish a Marshall Plan for the Orient.
   f. Resolved, that the federal government should adopt a policy of equalizing educational educational oportunity in tax supported schools by means of annual grants.

8. The first intercollegiate debate

Turn to Page 176

Specimen Debate Division

Nationalization of Basic Industries

First Affirmative

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I begin the discussion of the nationalization of basic industries by defining the terms. To the affirmative, **basic industries** are the industries that are essential to our national economy. They are the industries we cannot do without. They are **basic** because they underly other industries and support our economy. By **nationalization** we understand government ownership and/or control. It is usually true in modern business that control does not imply complete ownership; fifty-one percent insures control, and often control is exercised with much less ownership than fifty percent. **Control** is the important thing, and that is what we shall advocate.

The issue in this debate then, lies in **who** shall exercise **control** in basic American industries: boards of directors in private business responsible to practically no one, or boards of directors responsible to our federal government.

To understand why this issue is arising, and that we are drifting toward it through the socialistic measures of the welfare state, requires a few moments of considering the history of business in the United States.

In the beginning we accepted the corporation as an artificial individual before the law. In so doing we empowered a board of directors to do business upon other people's money, and to do so without the exercise of much control by the real owners of a corporation. We made a second mistake in allowing the forty-eight states to charter such business corporations. Thus, without any interstate control, we began authorizing big business to come into our economy. It came with a vengeance and when we awoke to that fact, we began making regulations and restrictions and attempted to exercise a measure of control through regulation.

The minor issue in this debate is whether that regulation has failed or not and whether it is time to exercise real control over American business. Regardless of the good that the corporation, and big business that grew from it, have done for our economy, we have recognized in this country for some time that there must be government supervision. The question is shall it be by law, or shall it be by direct control and administration. Regulation by law is modified capitalistic or free economy system. Administration by government is a socialistic or paternalistic system.

There is no question of **need** in this debate; it is a matter of what is better for the country, of what is expedient, advantageous, and workable. It is a matter of **improvement.** In what way can we by Nationalization improve upon the present economy, for, if we wait until it becomes a matter of **need,** it will be entirely too late to salvage our economy and save billions of dollars, to say nothing of the lives and welfare of people.

What is it that is defective in our system? What is it that could be bettered by more government control or responsibility?

There are three things which we think are perturbing the public considerably. First, there is the fear of another boom-bust turn in the business cycle. The people have not forgotten what happened in 1932 and '33. That we cannot very well take and survive another financial depression like that is evident.

Financial depression seems to be an inherent evil in the present system of American economy. Is there any way we can control panics under a system of private economy? We have attempted it and thought we had it solved in the Federal Reserve System during Woodrow Wilson's day, but it overtook us again in Hoover's time. Our people fear that it will overtake us again in the not too far distant future. If it does, the jig is up, for our socalled economy. The situation is just that serious.

Preventing a boom-bust is like preventing a cold. It can't be done as yet. We haven't the formula. We don't know enough. We merely think we do, and then, when we get overconfident, the crash comes. The issue before us is whether **government control** and economic planning can take care of this situation. If it can, it is superior to **private control** and should be adopted.

The next issue is the matter of employment — permanent employment for our mass of working people. If a crash comes, millions will go out of work and will have no means of support. We have already seen this happen in '32 and '33. The government had to step in and take over the rescue of the unemployed. If this must be done in the case of a panic, why not do something before the need arises?

To go on, private enterprise falls down when once a depression is on, because capital is timid and private enterprise will invest only when it sees a sure profit. It will not invest when investment is needed to rescue an economy and get jobs for the unemployed. Private enterprise is no good when pump priming is needed to restore the economy. Government has to act. Once again, why keep government out of business if it must intervene when the crisis comes, especially if by careful planning a crash could be avoided. There is no unity in private economy and no harmony of action. No one is master enough to say what shall be done. With government in the leadership it is different. The people can compel action.

In the third place. one of the big complaints with capitalism as we know it, lies in the lack of opportunity ahead for the young man. There is not much chance to build a prosperous business any more in these days of big corporations and big business. The small man cannot compete. The future of the vast majority of our young men lies in wage-earning. Who will make a better employer—private enterprise or government? The average man, today, would rather trust his future security to his government than to private enterprise. His chance of security is better if it lies with government.

Finally, the entire trend today as we have seen is away from the anarchy of private business in the jungle of our economy, and in favor of a measure of security from a gov-

ernment strong enough and rich enough to guarante safety. That is why the country is beginning to consider the advisability of trusting government with the control of the basic industries. These secure, our economy is secure. The public no longer values the socalled freedom of opportunity which, like all gambles, enriches only the few. The public wants the good life secure to all. It is willing to trust government to bring it. If anything can do it, the united wisdom and capital of the country should be able to do it. What we want is business administered for the good of the public, not merely for the enrichment of the private entrepeneur.

To sum up then, for these three things: the solving of the boom-bust cycle, the insurance of investment when it is needed to secure the economy of the country, and the security of a wage economy by which we recognize we must live in the future, for these three things we say—let us nationalize our basic industries.

First Negative

Ladies and Gentlemen: We accept the gentleman's definitions. As for the issues we shall be glad to meet him upon what is better for the country, private control or Government control.

Our opponent evidently has more trust in government and politics than he has in trained business men. He thinks the greatest good will come from government control of big business. For this naive faith in the social order, we do not know whether to congratulate him or whether to feel sorry for him.

Has he never observed that the most expensive way to accomplish anything is to turn it over to the government? We have a living example in present-day Britain where not a single nationalized industry has resulted in an economic improvement. Each one costs more than ever to operate, results in deficit rather than profit, and has failed to increase service and satisfaction.

As we sat and listened to the first affirmative we noticed that not once did he tell us how these desirable securities were to be obtained. He merely assumed that government ownership and control would bring them, but how? He did not tell us how government would take over the basic industries, who would operate them, who would do the economic planning, or when the pump priming would be done. He did not tell us what would become of the right to strike when government took over. To be frank, he talked as all socialists talk—just elect us and all will be well. Your Uncle Sam is the best Santa Claus in the business.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let's be practical; let's get down to business. Let us say we accept the gentleman's statement of the issue, that it is a matter of who can do the management of economy better—the government bent on satisfying everybody or the expert trained business man bent on showing a profit. If it is to be a matter of efficiency, who has the better record—government or private business? The economy of our country furnishes only one answer. Private business most certainly. That is the only answer that can be derived from our history.

Now let us look at the gentleman's three issues: First, **the boom-bust cycle.** He implies that this is inherent in a capitalistic system. He does not show how government by virtue of owning and operating the basic industries is to solve the problem. He merely implies it. Now frankly if there is anything government can do to prevent despressions, the public may rest assured the government will do it rather than take the risks he points out. We do not need to control basic industries to be sure of this. The political future of the administration depends upon it, so you may be sure that government will leave no stone unturned to solve the depression problem. We are already doing everything that could be done to meet the business cycle. There is nothing more that we could do under government ownership and control of basic industries that we are not already doing. For this issue then, we have listened to what practically amounts to a lot of hot air, and a most certain misconception of the federal reserve system and its efforts to lead and guide the finance and credit of the nation. It is very much as Franklin Delano Roosevelt said upon first taking office in the face of the great banking crisis. "There is nothing to fear but fear." Our opponents are trying to build a reason for changing our economy because of the psychology of fear. We may not survive our next financial panic, they say. They imply that Government control is an improvement, is an answer, but, pray, how have they demonstrated it?

Next, they indict private investment concerns for not putting up money to bring recovery when a depression hits. We heard once of a woman who tried to sweep back the ocean from her door with a broom. Should private capital make a similar attempt? There is a time for all things. When pump priming is **ne**cessary, the government will have to do it. Investment companies dare not risk other people's money. The opposition did not show us how government could prevent our getting into pump priming necessities. They did not tell us how to prevent depressions.

Finally, they urged that the day of opportunity for private business was over because the small man could not survive the blasts of modern competition and big business methods. This gets us into an age-long controversy. It is by no means long controversy. It is not by any means assured that opportunity is dead in America, that we have reached the lock-step of European civilization. This is merely an assumption, and we defy the gentleman to bring convincing evidence that it is true. As far as we can observe men create businesses and fail or prosper upon an individual basis pretty much as they have always done. Anything else is an assumption, and we demand that it be proved before we shall accept it. For instance, what about the rise of the Kaiser company?

Now what have we to offer in a constructive way for capitalism or for a free economy as we know it today?

First, our business history under free economy has been one of phenomenal progress, growth, and expansion. From a few thousand struggling colonists on the Atlantic seaboard a hundred seventy-five years ago, look what we have become. A nation that stretches from ocean to ocean and that is today the one nation in the world that has the economy to support philanthropy on a billion dollar scale. If private enterprise has failed, what is the gentleman's idea of success? How would government operation of basic industries insure our financial greatness beyond what individual initiative has accomplished? We'd like a practical answer to that. There isn't

a socialistic country in the world today that has the answer. Great Britain has not. Without American loans and credit, her economy would topple tomorrow. Has the Russian economy anything to offer except a boast that they have conquered the boom-bust cycle? If they have any proof of this, let us see it.

Second, we have a free labor system. Labor can strike; labor can organize; labor can bargain. Labor in America does not need to cringe, fawn, or beg. It is independent. Look at its century and a half of accomplishment under a free economy. Take a look at it in Europe today under a socialistic economy. Would any American laborer exchange places? You know the answer. In America labor is free. Abroad, labor faces oppression, wage slavery, short rations and shorter wages. What would happen in America if government was forced to make a profit out of the basic industries? Would not prices go up more and more? Would not the inevitable battle between labor and government come to the issue it has in Great Britain—accusations and recriminations?

Next what would happen to the tax basis if the government took over the basic industries? Would not profit have to come in and take the place of taxes? Would that not in itself mean higher prices, and would that not lead to higher wages and a direct clash between government and the workers in basic industries?

Finally, how could we exist half socialistic and half free? Would not the rest of the economy have to be taken over eventually? Can we draw the line at basic industries? And if they are really basic would they not drag the rest in after them eventually?

Also do financial depressions begin always with basic industries, or could private industry left out of the circle of basic industries start a depression? What starts a depression anyway? Is it indebtedness and failure in ability to pay? Does not this drag an economy down? How can private business be prevented from over production, over investment and business failure because the government owns and operates basic industries?

Moreover, do all the dishonest practices for which big business stands indicted exist merely in basic industries?

How will the ownership of basic industries give employment to the workers left in private industry? What is to become of them because of wage slavery and lack of opportunity? Will not regulation of business still be necessary even if the government does own and operate basic industries?

Frankly, ladies and gentlemen, we fail to see how any half way measure has a ghost of a chance to succeed.

To sum up—nothing in our history justifies this move to socialism. Second, it would destroy our freedom of enterprise, our freedom of labor, the tax basis, and divides our economy. It implies a wisdom in government operation which history does not manifest. As a matter of fact, it is based upon a reasoning that expertly dodges the facts and enthrones assumption. To crown all it has never worked successfully anywhere it has been tried in Europe or down under. It is just a snare and a delusion. If the gentlemen can disprove this statement, let them do it. Now is the accepted time.

Second Affirmative

Ladies and gentlemen: We congratulate the speaker upon his liaison with the Chamber of Commerce. But, ladies and gentlemen, we cannot live in the past, we must face the future. We have a glorious past, we admit, but there is nothing so certain as change. We must change with conditions—we must keep abreast of them. What are conditions that we are likely to face—simply these:

The capitalistic system under which we live may let us down. We may have to face another depression with millions out of employment, without daily bread, without hope, without security, reaching up to government with imploring hands. We faced it once—we know what it is—and we know that capitalism is cold, hard, selfish, indifferent. You can't feed starving men and women and children, who are not to blame because their jobs are gone, on liberty and free economy, and equality of opportunity and such empty phrases. Government must furnish security; it must be a refuge; it must stand up under stress. If putting government into business, giving it the leadership, will help, and if it can't, nothing can—do we dare to shrink from the step if the time comes? Think that over. If we must turn to government ultimately, why not be getting our system ready in time?

There is a statement in Holy Writ something like this: Ye cannot serve two masters. In this question it is a matter of Big Business ruling or Government ruling. The citizen can take his choice. Government may attempt to rule by regulation, but it is never a very satisfactory process. The system merely leads to litigation and delay, injustice and inadequacy. For proof of this we can appeal to the gentleman's History of Business in America. A hungry and disappointed people are not going to tolerate this sort of thing much longer; at any rate, they are not going to suffer to preserve such a system. That is the meaning of the demand for "security."

Suppose we turn the gentleman's tactics upon his economy. To whom or what does he propose to turn if another depression comes if he does not admit that the government must face it? How else will he solve the problem of unemployment, insecurity, hunger, if Uncle Sam is not to come to the rescue? If we are to call upon the government, should not government be prepared? How under our present happy go lucky free economy system can we get prepared? Should government be master, or should the big banking interests control our economy? The control lies with finance—that is evident. Which master is the more likely to protect the people? To go on preventing Big Business from planning to run things and not putting Government into the breach as manager, is to court just the disaster we are talking about. There must be authority to plan. Our economy has become too great, too all important to be left to helter skelter action and irresponsibility.

That we cannot take over the basic industries without ultimately taking over all the economy, is perhaps the truest observation our opponents have made. Our answer is that undoubtedly we shall have to go ultimately the whole way. Our subject for debate, however, is the basic industries. Let us take them first—one step at a time—let us meet our problems as they arise. To take basic industry first is logical. Once secure, in that step, and the rest is inevitable. Certainly we shall have to go the whole way, once we begin.

We cannot bring ourselves to look

upon that as a calamity when we reflect upon what happers when Big Business commands.

First, there is the suppression of invention and improvement to protect the investment of business in the obsolete and outdated. That has happened repeatedly in modern business America. For instance, there is the battery that runs for years in automobiles and airplanes that is refused a chance on the American market. Witness the slow development of television to protect the radio industry and the attempt to get government to accede to it. Private enterprise is said to be the great promoter of invention and improvement, but is it when it conflicts with investment and private monopoly?

Again, there is the concerted attack upon the medium sized business to force it to merge or comply. It is dangerous in this country to become a little bigger than usual, to prosper beyond the small sized business, for the wolves of finance lie in wait.

If you don't believe this, take the Negative's instance of the Kaiser Company? That was an unfortunate illustration, gentlemen, if you wish to prove the existence of opportunity in this country to grow big. Who has saved the Kaiser Company from the resentment of Eastern Steel interests, and the hostility of big financiers — the American government. It was the government and is today the government that is finacing the Kaiser Company. Think this over, ladies and gentlemen.

Next, there is the obvious attempt of Big Busines to control and use Big Government. The American people know exactly what this means. Hypocrisy in the courts, delays, subterfuges and injustices. Laws full of hidden devices to defeat the will of the people. Once again we appeal to the History of the Country, which you cited, gentlemen. Let us cite you back to the days of Theodore Roosevelt and the fight for the square deal. We are not just talking —we are reminding you—and also we are telling you that the leopard doesn't change his spots nor the tiger his stripes. Corruption in Big Business isn't merely a thing of yesterday.

Once again, if you do not believe what we are saying, suppose you take a look at the veracity of modern advertising, which is used to bolster big business. Does it tell the truth or is it full of lies? You be the judge. If you find it full of prevarication, who profits by misrepresentation? Will a big business which habitually lies in its advertising, become suddenly virtuous in its other business dealings?

We began by saying that it was generally agreed that business in America had become so big that supervision was an accepted fact. There is no one to supervise but government. Can it be done by regulation, or are we ready to admit our failure and adopt a real control? Only a management responsible to government, directed and bossed by government, will ever give us the honesty and integrity in business that we as a people need and have a right to have. And remember that type of control will have the interest of the people at heart and not private gain.

Oh, you say—now we have reached it—it is profit—private gain these socialists are after. We refute that statement by saying that it is honest gain, just gain, fair gain that we stand for. We are not against profit nor are we against the profit motive properly used and properly enforced. Let us look now at our proof for this statement.

Have we once said that the government should own all?No. We said we wanted **Control** and that ownership was not necessary to control in the modern business system. If big business can rule without owning, why can't government do it the same way? And, by the way, gentlemen, this knocks your little tax argument out—if private stockholders are still allowed by government and government makes a profit—who gets the dividends? And cannot they be taxed?

And now, finally, you will want to know how we are proposing to take over? Well, gentlemen, it is simple. We shall do it just as Big Business does it. Trade government stock for the present stock, and take over the management for government. This is honest and fair. There isn't any confiscation about it. The government merely announces that it is taking over and proceeds to assume the management and the right to do business on the private investor's money. The same money that carries on business now continues to carry on. If Boards of Directors can make profits now, Government Boards of Directors can make money. The government will be the judge as to how much is retained and how much returned to the people.

There is one charge we wish to refute right here, and that is that the Government cannot do business in this way efficiently. We ask you to take a look at TVA. At the Panama Canal Zone. At Boulder City, which the Government built at Boulder Dam. And you might contrast with Boulder City—Las Vegas, Nevada, which may be said to be one example of free economy. Even if they cost a little more, these government operations, reflect a little on the quality of the return you are getting. Is it worth it? The people concerned say "Yes" in no unmistakable terms. Let us face facts, gentlemen. The U.S.A. is the biggest business in the world just now, and if it is not the most efficiently run, it is our fault. Inefficient or not, it is our only hope.

Second Negative

Ladies and Gentlemen: May we call your attention right here in the beginning to the very subtle and unproved statement that regulation of private business has failed, that Uncle Sam cannot make his laws good, and that courts are traitors to the people. We admit that there has been some trouble and some delay in obtaining justice at times, but that Congress and the courts are corrupt and a failure and that government has gone to the damnation bow-wows we absolutely deny. If so, how can the gentlemen of the Affirmative justify their pleas to turn everything over to government! They have not noticed the significance of this over-statement of theirs about regulation. If we cannot regulate, how can we control? Obviously the same kind of men must be trusted to run the Government Boards of Directors as those in charge now. Human nature is human nature. If there can be enough government integrity to control under socialism, there can be enough under democracy to regulate honestly and fairly. We invite the affirmative to consider the significance of this statement.

Now that is exactly our position in this debate. It is our settled conviction that it is better to regulate private enterprise than it is to resort to government management and control of all business. Government

is unwieldy now. What is the sense in making it worse by piling upon it all the duties of the private economy?

What is government for, anyway? Is it for the good of the people? Our affirmative friends certainly will not deny that stand. Well then, what is best for the people—to give them freedom—the right to run their own affairs unmolested by government as long as they obey the laws and deal justly with their fellow men—or to assume that everyone is a crook and that government must dictate every step in the economy of the country? As a great man once said—"Give me liberty, or give me death!" If we must come to live under such an economy, it is time to emigrate in search of freedom. Ladies and gentlemen, do you realize that the affirmative is asking us to turn our backs upon what we have cherished for 175 years as the American way! Do you realize that their plan is the death of liberty and happiness in America and the beginning of wage slavery, and **lese majesty** if one dares to criticize the sacred bureaucracy! If you do not believe this, take a look at what is happening in England.

Now the gentlemen of the opposition waxed rather eloquent over the starving children in the next depression. Ladies and gentlemen, we have survived the depressions of the past like men and Americans, and we can do it again. We think that our government will do all that is possible to protect our economy and our people. We think it is making an honest attempt to do so today. We do not think that even if we should fail, that the remedy lies in complete government paternalism. There is just one thing we instinctively distrust in all this palaver, and that is the government failure and inefficiency which makes government socialism desirable will not carry over into the executive branch of a socialistic government.

It will. Just as surely as we are here, a change to socialism will not improve our government. Nationalization is not the solution. The profit motive is not the villain. In a system as gigantic as ours is in a country as expansive as ours, no one can expect perfection. There will be many things that are wrong. That is inevitable. However, we cannot see that the things that are wrong justify such a significant change in government principle and policy. Moreover, we refuse to be stampeded into a change in our system of government because we are afraid of a financial depression. To us this is just as absurd as sweeping back the ocean with a broom. Certainly we know there is an ocean. Also we know there can be a breakwater. Why can't that breakwater be an honest system of regulation that interrupts nature as little as possible?

Let us now call your attention to a remark of the affirmative in the first constructive speech about the incorporation of businesses by states. They asserted that we made a mistake in permitting that action. We agree with them. We think that this is the place to begin the correction of what is wrong in American corporation methods of doing business. Require all chartering of corporations to be federal from now on. Do you realize what this would do? It would give the federal government the power of life and death over business. Do you think that under such circumstances that the laws would ever be lightly denied or evaded?

A charter could be so carefully written that no corporation that valued its right to do business could afford to be caught in a violation of law. Our government could be the complete master of our business and economy without having to take the trouble of owning and operating it. Really, the affirmative is taking the long and troublesome way around to get control. In fact, they are advocating burning the house down to roast the meat for dinner.

Why go to such a dangerous expedient, merely to get a control we do not want, that would burden the government impossibly, and would harm us all if the government had it? We do not want a dictated economy. We want a free economy.

We want a government of law and order, of justice and wisdom—not one of petty tyranny, gigantic bureaucracy and tyrannical policy. Putting government into all business will achieve this and nothing more. Prices will be no cheaper. Production will be no better. Security will be no surer. We shall just become the slaves and wage-minions of a gigantic misrule of bureaucracy. Frankly, ladies and gentlemen, if human nature cannot be trusted to run its own economy, how can we trust it to run an economic government fairly and justly? Will not the tendencies to take advantage that our opponents point out in business—will they not—we ask—be transferred to government and to the operation of government controls. Can we trust any system to save us from human mistakes and human dishonesty and depravity? How do we know that there will be no corruption in government—if such a thing exists in business and government takes business over? Is government and politics a sure cure for business corruption? Don't you believe it! As we have already said once in this debate—it is a snare and a delusion.

Why go to all this risk and adventure in government when we have a simple remedy in hand that leaves us with our freedom and a system we are used to and proud of? With federal incorporation and constant revision and adjustment of laws we have all the control we shall ever need.

Finally, if government can solve the matter of business cycles it can do so as a democracy as well as a socialistic state. Does the socialistic form of government confer any special wisdom upon its officers that democracy cannot achieve? The answer is obvious. It's so plain that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err thereby.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

The Northwestern University School of Speech is giving a presentation of Moliere's "Tartuffe", Thursday evening, Dec. 29, at 8:15, for the SAA Convention to be held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago.

The Central States Speech Association is scheduled for the Deshler-Wallick Hotel, Columbus, Ohio, April 14-15.

Ohio Debate Conference

The official high school debate year for Ohio begins with a conference for Speech Education at the Deshler-Wallick Hotel, Columbus, October 8.

Sam Prichard, well known Southern California debater, who has at different times been on the Pasadena City squad, the Caltech squad and the Redlands squad, has joined the speech staff of the University of Maine. He has just received the A.M. degree at Redlands.

Editorial and Comment

DEBATE QUESTIONS

For the first time there has been real dissatisfaction among the high schools over a really good selection of a National Question. There is a good debate in the Electoral system and the election of a president, and a lot of history and of valuable information to be learned. Anyway, it won the vote over two other questions that doubtless, if chosen, would also have proved successful questions.

We see nothing to be gained in harping about the method of selection of the questions for the vote. It has been a good system. The cry that they have been selected in meetings where college teachers predominated rather than high school teachers is hardly a worthy one. It merely means that college teachers have been more professionally minded, have attended the conventions, and have been interested in the progress of high school debating. If there is a way to improve the selection, trust the interested people to find it, and it will be found.

As to the college question—really it is a big one—too big, some say. Maybe by next April the college debaters will arrive at a sound and competent way of discussing it. So far there has been a lot of pre-season batting the air over this subject. Government Ownership of basic industries is Socialism, say the students who champion and defend individual measures in Congress that are moving directly toward the Welfare State, which is also Socialism. That this subject introduces Socialism in such a big dose that the average student cannot quite swallow it, and is afraid of the affirmative, is quite evident.

That the student is concerned with finding a third way, which isn't exactly capitalism, and which escapes a lot of socialism's fancies and foibles, goes without saying. Young America is still young America and is intensely loyal to the American way. Facing the faults and weakness of capitalistic business and facing the illogical and fallacious reasoning of Socialism, the student is facing the realities that he will have to live with all his life. Naturally he is concerned to find a third and better way. God grant that the next generation will be wise and intelligent enough to do just this thing.

A study of the trends, the needs, the faults, and the downright impossibilities of many things in our present business and political situations is a fine thing for our young men and women to be engaged in. Despite the fact that our subject contains many debates that would justify a lot of time in many more limited statements, debating a broad subject with broad principles can be a very helpful thing. It has so many approaches that there is always a possibility of a new one. The subject is inexhaustible, and therefore a good one—even if it is bewildering in its immensity at first.

With it we should have a profitable educational debate season, even if it doesn't work out too well as an ideal debate subject. Are we too optimistic? Time will tell. Maybe this season will tell—maybe it will take until some other season and some insignificant choice of subject to direct our minds back to these days when we really had a subject to master.

Our opinion of the Western Selection this season is not a favorable one. Having heard it debated one realizes that it was an unfortunate choice. Most of the debaters are anxious to get it over with and begin on the National subject, and one can understand this attitude. The time for a Marshall Plan for the Orient passed two years ago. The facts of the situation are all against it. The Chinese situation renders its discussion a bit unrealistic, and discouraging. It is just such choices that stultify debate and get it criticized by its friends, who should be happily instead of grouchily engaged in a discussion of a worthy subject. However, it was chosen by vote among the colleges of the Pacific Coast, and it is their own mistake that the west coast forensic directors and their debaters must deal with. That there is much to be learned by debating this subject is certainly true. That the students involved have been unusually tolerant of the mistake in this choice is also true. They are genuinely trying to debate this subject in the most plausible way they can find. More power to them. Belief in a two proposition season is undoubtedly a factor in the situation and is responsible for the good sportsmanship being exhibited on the part of the debaters.

WE HAVE CAUSE TO BE OF GOOD CHEER

If we can read the signs of the times correctly, and we are in a good position to do so as far as speech activities in American colleges and high schools are concerned, things are rapidly improving. We are getting back to the pre-war days in debate and other speech contests. There are, no doubt, many reasons for this. Among them we think we see some important factors.

1. For instance, the speech field has ceased to be divided against itself for the most part. The old fight between discussion and debate is over, and the two factors once bitter toward each other are now working together like brothers engaged in a common cause, and that is as it should be, for there is much good in both. In unity these things that are good can be cultivated, improved upon, and realized. Divided we fall. In the language of the popular song of a few years ago, we can pat ourselves on the back. Happy days are here again!

2. The spirit of good will that has brought this united attitude about is bringing us an increase in activity. It is bringing us friends among educators. It is bringing us money for extended programs. It is restoring faith in us and our programs. When we seek the good and quit picking unnecessary flaws in our activities, when we concentrate upon improvement instead of criticism, we are flying straight into the landing field on the beam.

3. Our debate and forensic directors seem to have caught a new vision. There is a renewed demand for unity, improvement, for real educational goals. There is a growing desire to leave carping criticisms, jealousies, unreasonable rivalries, and false loyalties, and stuffed shirt dignities behind us, and get down to an honest to goodness forward movement in a field of speech not very highly valued by some speech teachers, greatly underestimated by others, and too often sneered at by others. The move to form a Directors Association is an evidence of this

spirit. It is also a movement to realize and make sure of progress. It is true some speech teachers have failed to see this, some have taken the attitude that a new organization is not needed, and is just one more thing to pay dues to. It is too bad, of course, that there are some coaches who have no vision of national improvement in speech activities. Local victories and interests satisfy them. Fortunately, however, there are enough who see the light of a new day to make a new day possible. To such directors—we do not call them coaches—they deserve a better term—we are greatly indebted. For them we are thankful for in their hands the future is safe. They will train up the new generation of directors to carry on the activities which many of us have striven for a teacher's lifetime to advance.

4. Our friends in education are rallying around us. They are revising their estimates. They are returning to a faith they once had in speech training, and they are seeing that debates, discussion, contests are sound ways of getting speech training across. They are beginning to see something more than nuisance value in extended trips and forensic efforts. There is for instance the restoration of debate to the N. F. L. National convention contests. This move was inevitable to fair-minded men faced with the truth. We congratulate the Principals Association as well as ourselves upon this decision.

5. The search for better techniques in contest training is still among us. We have owed much to this urge for betterment in the past. It has led us over some rough and stony ground, but the end result has been good. We have arrived at better things. We have found some new things of value, for instance discussion, still needing improved techniques to become a good contest but in spite of that, full of values. We have found ways of improving the old contests to render them more valuable. There is much ahead still to do and for that we are happy and thankful. If there wasn't something to work for, things would go stale and probably collapse.

6. We have a future to look forward to with ambition and genuine happiness. Like Pippa, we can say, "God's in his heavens, all's right with the world." If we can just bring humanity to settle their problems by talking them over instead of drifting into war about them, the future would indeed be bright. Why not make such a triumph the real goal of all speech training?

E. R. N.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Allen, John J.—Mr. Allen is an Englishman and served in the British Army as his picture in uniform suggests. Upon the enaction of a program of Nationalization in Great Britain after the Second World War he decided to rear his family in the United States, where he felt that the democratic free economy offered better opportunities. He is a certified public accountant with an office in Redlands, California. His article on Page 147 was given as an address before the Redlands Rotary Club in September, 1949 and later contributed to this magazine.

H. P. Constans — Mr. Constans is head of the Speech Department of the University of Florida. His article on the Role of Intercollegiate Debate Tournaments in a Post War Period was one of the papers given in the debate section of the SAA Convention at Washington, D. C., Dec. 1948. The paper was later printed in the Southern Speech Journal from which it is reprinted in Speech Activities.

J. D. Hansen—Mrs. Hansen's account of the origination of the debate tournament at Southwestern College, Kansas, where he was director of debate for the period in his career immediately preceding his joining the Speech Staff at Kansas State College at Manhattan, has coached debate in Nebraska and Kansas colleges for some time. His article appeared originally in the Forensic of Pi Kappa Delta, of which he is a member, and was taken from the October number, the most recent of the Pi Kappa Delta Magazine issues.

Toshio Kanshi—This name we hope will become more familiar to us all as time goes on. Mr. Kanshi is a member of the staff of the Japanese Daily Asahi Shimbun, the largest in Tokyo. He has been a student at the University of Southern California, but did not debate. Upon his return to Japan he conceived the idea after the war and the change in the attitude toward free speech in Japan, to start intercollegiate debating in his native land. He persuaded his newspaper to back the project and his plan is now in its 4th year of a National Debate Meet — just recently held in November. He reports that 120 colleges are members of a new incollegiate debate organization in Japan. They are struggling hard to translate the rules and principles of American debating into Japanese and getting them distributed in printed form. They are looking forward to joining America, Britain, Scotland, Canada, India, Australia, and Germany in International Debating. More on this in our next issue. As founder of Japanese debating, Toshio Kanshi San has his hands full with a League of 120 colleges on hand and growing interest in secondary schools and labor unions and other organizations. Shall we give him a hand!

Edd Miller—Writer of the article on The Debater and His Audience in this issue.Edd Miller is a member of the University of Michigan Speech Staff and has appeared in our columns before, always with an interesting writing on debate. He was formerly on the staff of Speech at the University of Texas, Austin. It is our hope that Mr. Miller will continue his interest in speech contests and appear again in our pages.

Kim Griffin—Mr. Kim Griffin, director of Debate in Prof. E. C. Buehler's Department of Speech at the University of Kansas, is a newcomer to our pages. His article was obtained by our Editor of the Discussion Department, Wayne N. Thompson, of the Chicago Division of the University of Illinois. We hope to hear from Mr. Griffin again.

E. Ray Nichols, Jr. — Yes, you guessed it. He is the son of the editor of this magazine. We couldn't persuade him to stay out of speech, and the Navy couldn't hold him out either. He is a member of the Speech Staff of the University of Oregon. His paper on Hiram Johnson was given at the Western Speech Convention at San Jose, Nov. 25, '49. He had previously submitted a thesis on Hiram Johnson for the doctorate, at the University of Southern California, June 1948. Much of the material in this paper is new, however, especially the quotes from Hiram Johnson, Jr.

John W. Low—Mr. Low's oration on My Paper Doll, was given at the Bowling Green convention of Pi Kappa Delta, as representative of Nebraska Wesleyan University, noted for its oratorical record. The edi-

tor felt that the oration was worthy of being resurrected and printed in Speech Activities.

Malcolm Sillars—Mr. Sillars is the new debate coach at the Iowa State College. He is a graduate of the University of Redlands, and has an M. A. from there. He was a debater at the Bowling Green convention of Pi Kappa Delta, and Speech major at his alma mater, and has also had dramatic training. He makes his debut in Speech Activities to prove to the editor that he can write, whether his typewriter can spell or not.

Ralph A. Micken—Mr. Micken was evidently the predecessor of Mr. Sillars at Iowa State College, and gives an account of speech activities at Iowa State College in service to the constituency. His article appeared first in the Gavel of Delta Sigma Rho, from which we have reprinted it.

ANSWERS TO READERS' QUIZ

1. The national topic was chosen by Pi Kappa Delta for its own use, staring in 1923. For many years the Pi Kappa Delta topic was employed throughout the country by members and non-members alike. More recently, the other interested groups asked for, and received, a voice in the selection. Selection of the topic has been a cooperative project ever since. Correct answer—c. Reference: 3:206-7.

2. While it is true that only one team may visit Britain each year, there is no indication that the situation will end in the near future. Correct answer — false. Reference 5:133.

3. All four of these schools reached the quarter-finals. The University of Alabama went on to win. Correct answer—a. A summary of results will be found on 5:141. Full results of each debate, round by round, will be found on 5:88-90. A photograph of the winning team, with its attractive feminine coach, appeared on 5:107.

4. Alabama was the only team to lose only one debate in the eight seeding rounds. It was undefeated in the elmination rounds, of course. Correct answer—b. Reference 5:88-90.

5. Hugo Hellman's proposal, which appeared on 5:38-9, calls for an association of college directors of forensics. Correct answer—b. You've probably also noticed the advertisements which have been appearing on the inside back cover.

6. It pays to be a debater. The only man in the group who did not receive a debate training was Truman. Correct answer—c. References 4:7 (Mundt), 4:7-8 (Case), 5:99-101 (Willkie), 5:12-13 (Reed, 4:170-1 (Eaker), 2:68 (Morse).

7. Correct answer is c, election of the President by direct vote.

8. If you answered c, you are in good company, but a is the right answer. For many years the Harvard-Yale debate was considered first because R. C. Ringwalt (a Harvard man) said so in **Forum**, January 1897.

With the publication of "Debating in the Colonial Chartered Colleges" by David Potter, two earlier debates were recorded. The full record, as far as we know, is:

1. Rutgers vs. New York University, May 6, 1881, at New Brunswick. Decision: Rutgers.
2. Rutgers vs. New York University, March 18, 1887, at New Brunswick. Decision: New York University.
3. Yale vs. Harvard, January 14, 1892, at Cambridge. Decision: None.
4. Yale vs. Harvard, March 25, 1892, at New Haven. Decision: None.

Two other early debates were:

Princeton vs. Yale, March 15, 1893, at Princeton. Decision: None.

Michigan vs. Wisconsin, 1893.

References: Pages 96-7 in Potter's "Debating in the Colonial Chartered Colleges," Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York, 1944.

References in this magazine: 2:112 and 3:113.

9. Correct answer is a. Pictures appear on 5:106.

10. Correct answer is d. Reference: 5:123-4.

Score yourself on the good old scale of—

70%—Passing
80%—Fair
90%—Good
100%—Excellent

The Michigan High Schools have officially adopted the definition of "direct vote" to mean popular vote. Such plans as the Lodge-Gossett and the Gossett-Lee plans in Congress are definitely assigned to the Negative. This agrees with the contention of this magazine in its Autumn 1949 issue.

READER'S QUIZ

Continued from Page 168

in the United States was between:

a. Rutgers and New York University in 1881.

b. Michigan and Wisconsin in 1893.

c. Harvard and Yale in 1892.

d. Bates and Redlands in 1924.

e. Princeton and Yale in 1893.

f. Army and Navy in 1911.

9. At the 1949 National Forensic League tournament, the six winning high school students came from these states:

a. Each came from a different state.

b. Three were from Ohio.

c. Five were from one state, and the six... ...om a nearby state.

10. The original version of Oregon debate, as developed by J. Stanley Gray, had one of these features:

a. A questioning period followed each constructive speech.

b. There was only one questioning period per team, in which all members of the opposing team were examined.

c. There were three debaters on each team. The third man gave the rebuttal-summary.

d. There were two debaters on each team. There was only one questioning period per team, which took place between the constructive speeches and the rebutals.

The answers appear on this page.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

Oscar Lee Newton, Jr., of the University of Alabama, and Charles Radcliffe, of Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, have been approved by the Committee on International Debating of the Speech Association of America, to represent the colleges and universities of the United States on a debate trip to Great Britain early in 1950. Newton and Radcliffe will leave about the first of February, and will be gone approximately six weeks.

The new coach at Cornell College, Iowa is Lola Walker.

The SAA announces its future conventions are to be held at the Commodore Hotel, New York, Dec. 28-30, 1950, with additional meetings at the Roosevelt; 1951 at Chicago, Dec. 27-29, hotel yet to be selected; 1952, Cincinnati, Dec. 29-31. Hotel, Netherland Plaza; additional meetings at Hotel Sinton.

College Handbook Division

Edited by EGBERT RAY NICHOLS

NATIONAL SUBJECT—DEBATE: Resolved that the United States should Nationalize the Basic Non-Agricultural Industries.
DISCUSSION: What Should be the Foreign Policy of the United States Toward the Countries of the Orient?

NATIONALIZATION OF BASIC INDUSTRIES

Most college debaters and their coaches will probably have made their minds up about the National College Question by the time these lines are made public in print. Also the author will have had two tournaments behind him, and may have changed his mind somewhat by that time also. However, the department must have its contribution now, so here goes.

When law and business recognized and authorized the corporation early in the history of our country and in the innocent days of capitalism, they made it possible for a group of men to do business on other people's money. This was the real birth of capitalism. Great good has come from the corporation and in turn great harm. To begin with a second mistake was made, and that was in allowing each and every individual state of the forty-eight to charter corporations.

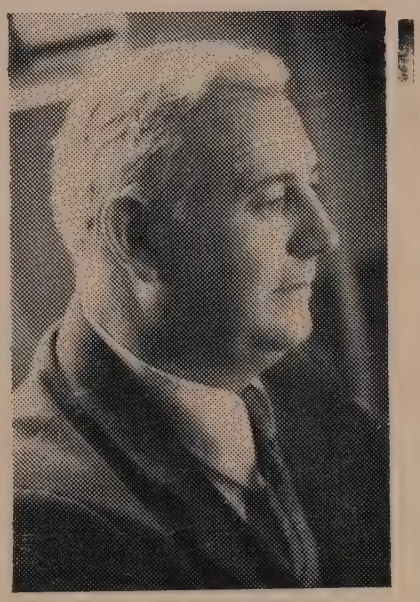
We have long recognized that certain states were very lax and careless in their charter laws and when corporations began to disturb us as big business and trusts, we tried regulation and talked of federal incorporation, but never enacted it. It is true all corporations now issuing stocks are compelled to submit to federal regulation before they can get on the market, no matter who charters them; but despite all our precautions the problem of regulation of corporations and big business is still before us.

When the corporation began to combine and the holding company was devised, then the federal government did get busy and an attempt was made that has been partially successful in outlawing the holding company, and holding down the size of big business.

Also we have tried taxation, which has been a fairly effective weapon.

Regulation of business, however, is a two-edged sword. It has come to mean nowadays economic planning, and government service to business, to labor, and to the public.

In spite of all we have been able to do, certain facts about capitalism have not been too successful or too pleasant to contemplate whenever we get into one of those distastrous swirls of business called a boom-bust cycle. Since the day of



Egbert Ray Nichols
University of Redlands Speech Dept.

Woodrow Wilson and the federal reserve system we have been trying earnestly to solve the business cycle. We thought we had done it until 1929 arrived. What we went through with at that time has so terrified and impressed the country that the attitude is general that we dare not have another one like it

Socialists see in our good situation and have been prophesying for a long time that it isn't the bigness of business that is bad, but that it is private enterprise or individual ownership without planning. They have contended that the socialistic states with proper economic planning do not have vicious boom-bust periods. Regardless of whether that claim is true, they have gone on to make many more.

They have been able to give us the most able and convincing digest of what is wrong with capitalism that anyone has ever been able to give us. They maintain that all the faults of individual greed, individual mistakes and lack of planning, fluctuations of credit, over production and underconsumption, lack of investment when we need new business or the venture of capital to insure employment—that all of our many ills will fade away into nothingness if we will accept state capitalism or government ownership. America as a nation has never been able to accept their reasoning. The average American distrusts the efficiency of government ownership. It has always seemed to the common man that everyone takes advantage of Uncle Sam and that this universal careless attitude renders the government inefficient. Whenever it does anything, it costs more so the average man dislikes the thought of government ownership.

However, we have been approaching socialism or government ownership along other lines. We have for years been adopting socialistic measures. It has come to such a pass that the welfare state is now commonly spoken of. We have before Congress several such measures that we have not as yet seen passed, for instance, Federal Aid to Education, Federal Health Insurance, etc.

We have seen the tendency to blame Uncle Sam for everything and to depend upon him for everything in case of financial depression. Two ideas of government have risen en to confront us, whereas once we had but one. Originally government was a thing to be supported by the people. It had certain desirable public functions to perform that had to be paid for. It was to interfere as little as possible with human liberty and business. Those were simple days, contemptuously designated now by many as **laissez faire** in tones indicating disgust or joy at the demise of so careless and happy-go-lucky an idiot as "free enterprise or absence of control."

It is true that business has become so complicated and so ruthless that a certain amount of control is necessary so we no longer, at any rate, have much of a semblance of **laissez faire.** The question

is now—how far shall we go over to government ownership and control. What shall we accomplish with it that we cannot now do without it? Is there any danger threatening us so seriously that we are likely to be tipped over the edge of the precipice marked "the end of Capitalism"? Will another financial panic accomplish this result? There are many that fear it.

Private capital is cowardly and selfish. It will not venture when investment is needed. Only government will do this for its citizens, hence the pleas for a transfer to a socialistic basis as fast as possible, that we may overcome the dangers and faults of capitalism soon enough to protect ourselves from disaster. Perhaps the writer has stated this badly, but really, isn't this the program of socialism, and isn't it the foundation of the affirmative case in this debate?

In the federal reserve system we have the possibilities of manipulating credit and finance to protect us from depression and crash. Whether or not we are wise enough to use these methods to protect ourselves from the business cycle remains to be seen. It is not saying too much to point out that if we can escape the crash of the boom-bust cycle in the future, socialism has very little chance in this country. If we can prosper and continue to prosper, the United States will pursue the even and uneven tenor of its way, regardless of profit and loss, labor agitation and welfare measures, strikes and turmoil. Prosperity is the keyword. Let it depart from us and no one knows what its failure will bring forth.

Frankly this debate, then, is not one of need, really. It is almost silly to talk of it in such terms. It is not need but security, benefits, advantages, welfare, future prosperity that we are thinking of. It is not a matter of need—it is a matter of risk. Dare we experiment, dare we change, dare we gamble on the future? It is not likely that we will unless calamity hits us with the capitalistic system in a position to be blamed. Then nobody knows what will happen. Will people strike then in blind rage? Will demagogues lead us?

The experiment that England is engaging in at the present with Nationalization of Basic Industries, the very things our resolution for debates sets forth, is most interesting and pertinent to our discussion. Some will see in the British experiment a notable and courageous move full of wisdom, daring, and expert planning. Others will see in it failure, government inefficiency, higher costs, lower standards of living, in fact, everything wrong. Perhaps it is a matter of the lenses that you use in viewing the situation. That Britain was faced with terrific problems before she attempted Nationalization and that these terrible problems are a heavy weight around her neck now that she is trying Nationalization are perfectly true observations. It is really difficult to get at the actual truth, and to measure with exactitude what is and what is not the fault of Socialism in England. At least there is enough doubt that America is not greatly perturbed as to what will happen on this side of the Atlantic. If it becomes necessary, perhaps America will take the Nationalistic step without a qualm or a quiver. Most people are more concerned over daily bread than over government principle. Security means more that freedom to a very large portion of Americans. Just what this will mean if the issue confronts us squarely sometime in the future no one knows.

Many of our students will try to build a case for government ownership because the TVA and other government power projects, conservation projects, and improvement projects seem to be successful. Nothing succeeds like success, and unless the lid can be taken off and the facts about such organizations as TVA can be thoroughly examined as a matter of verifying the success of such projects, we cannot be too sure of where we should stand. However, the only evidence we have for government ownership is the government ownership we already have.

Of course there will be considerable objection to the power and authority granted to such organizations as the TVA. The danger of setting up a Gargantuan monster that cannot be adequately controlled will be set over against the trust and big business proposition that yields with considerable reluctance to governmental control. Which state is worse? Under which are we likely to endure the more in the long run?

Moreover, if we take Basic Industries over, where shall we stop? What will become of taxes? Will government have to make up tax loss by production and profit? If so, how then can we cheapen the product under government ownership? Must the price of living continue to climb?

Also, we must face the fact that control of everything else implies the control of labor—maybe the death of the union—maybe the death of liberty and free expression? The sharp remarks already being made by the government of Britain should give us pause before we open the individual up to indiscriminate sniping from the minions of a government industry. Can we retain the right to strike when government becomes owner?

It hasn't been my intention to debate this topic; I am interested that you see some of the things involved in it.

I am not one of those who laugh because college kids are debating a thing that is too deep for them. It is too deep for our generation—this question is. We shall not solve it—maybe the next generation will not solve it either. However, it is their generation that is most likely to be called upon to do something with this tremendous problem. If they must decide some day, what a blessing it is if they study enough into this subject to get some very settled and established ideas. This country has always profited from its men of standing and conviction, and may it continue to do so.

The Northwestern Reviewing Stand (WGN), held the annual debate on the high school question over the Mutual Broadcasting System, Central Standard Time, at 10:30 a. m., Nov. 13. The debaters were Norman Thomas, Congressman Ed Gossett, Prof. Roland Young, Northwestern University, and Prof. Maynard Krueger, Chicago University. Pamphlet copies of the debate are available from the Reviewing Stand at 10 cents a copy—5 cents in quantities of 25 or more.

Lawrence W. Grosser, of the University of Michigan heads the Michigan High School Forensic Association and announces a high school debate clinic for October 15. The 33rd annual High school championship debate will be held April 28, 1950 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

High School Debate Handbook

Edited by HUGO E. HELLMAN, Marquette University
HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECT: Resolved that the President of the United States should be elected by a direct vote of the people.

Hugo E. Hellman

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Old time debate coaches are having a big laugh this year over the squirming of the "need trained" debaters and young coaches as they wrestle with the two National subjects this season — Direct popular Election of the President and Nationalization of Basic industries. These two subjects have one big thing in common. Neither can be justified by need. The experienced old codgers recognized this immediately, and fell back on the experience of many years ago and began to plan benefit cases, or advantage and disadvantage cases involving the practicability or workability of plans. Naturally they remembered when all intercollegiate and interscholastic debating was done with other motives in view to appeal to than necessity. The human being acts upon many motives. He sees in desirability, improvement, advantages many reasons for action just as potent as "need." He is not obsessed with the idea of compulsion or necessity as the only motive for a debater to use.

There are some things that people choose to do before they are compelled by necessity. If the "need" debaters would stop to do a little thinking instead of stereotyped planning they would recognize the fact that there are many things that influence people in making decisions and that "necessity" is not necessarily the most important or the most potent.

When one stops to think of it, there is no necessity of changing the present system of electing the president. We are getting along nicely as it is, and have been doing so for some time. The real issue is—can we better the situation? Can we make our system more efficient, render it fool proof, and make it express more truly than it does now, the will of the people. The awkwardness and the dangers that may be said to be possible in our present system are not so serious as to constitute what is called "a need for a change."

This same thing is true in the college subject. No one can find in our system sufficient need for a change to such an obvious socialistic position. We are pretty well content as a people with what we call our "free economy" and the "American way." We see no need for abandoning the capitalistic system as we have known it. We admit weaknesses in it, but as for justifying a "need for a change"—well, they just don't, and that is all there is to it.

Why debate these subjects then? Because they are important. Because they deal with theories and ideas and plans that we should understand and be informed upon. Because, if the proposed changes can be shown to be definitely superior in their advantages to us and in their benefits to the country, we certainly should be progressive enough to consider adopting them. Americans believe in improvement and progress. We have been tearing down good, adequate structures to build better ones ever since we had a country. Why? Because we believe in progress and improvement. We haven't waited for need; we act upon desirability.

If there is one political action in our country which does interest the people, and which is popular with them, it is the election of the president. Our constitution was definitely framed in the beginning to shut the people out of the choice of their president. This discrimination against the people failed from the very beginning. Our system of empowering the people, has been by methods we shall have to designate as subterfuge and extra-legal action. The question before us is this: Shall we make a new legal method that corresponds with our practice or improves upon our practice? That really is the debate. And it is not a matter of necessity or need, it is a matter of legality, integrity, and advantages, also workability. Can a practicable plan be devised that would be better than the one we have been following? That we have ignored the legal procedure outlined in our fundamental law is evident. That we have done so to take the people in on this important political transaction is also true. That we should make changes is the debate. To find reasons for the changes is to face the question at issue practically.

The affirmative is bound according to the terms of the question to advocate a plan of election that uses direct vote of the people. The negative can insist upon leaving things as they are, or upon any one of a number of counter plans. This is a debate in which a counterplan is apropos. Many of the plans that have been proposed at various times in Congress are good counterplans. The advocation of the status quo or of one of these plans is the negative duty.

The affirmative being definitely committed to a direct popular vote for president, must ascertain what is meant by direct popular vote. According to the best thought in this connection, it is adding up the votes of each candidate regardless of state lines to find out just how big his popularity with the citizens really is. It registers the will of the people and ignores the will of the states. Sometimes the result is the same, and sometimes it is different. Because it can be different is the reason the affirmative insists on a popular vote instead of a state vote registered by electors or in terms of electors, even when the actual electors are abolished.

It is the duty of the debaters to se-

lect and arrange the arguments for and against a direct popular vote. There are many good arguments on each side of the question. The next step is to find out how to refute the arguments, and how to defend and re-establish them.

In arranging these things into a debate case—take a tip from an old time coach, and forget all about this matter of need. It doesn't really apply in this debate.

FORENSICS AT THE GRASS ROOTS

Continued from Page 168

of Farm Price Supports before a group of Iowa farmers, it would be just short of suicidal to prepare carelessly and to present the argument ineffectively. If ever there was a tendency on the part of our speakers to take a casual attitude toward community visits, it has been beaten out of them by bitter experience. Each new year's participants are reminded of an occasion fairly early in the history of community visits when a couple of our "big city slickers," casually presenting the subject of Free Trade, found themselves surrounded by an entire audience of articulate farmers who were completely loaded on the subject. If this doesn't produce right results, we tell them of a panel which appeared in another Farm Bureau meeting to present the case for and against the Marshall Plan, only to discover that three members of the audience had recently returned from an extended tour of Europe. As a matter of fact, most speakers would be more willing to take on intercollegiate competition underprepared than to take a trip to the township hall at Rustic Center, Iowa, in the same condition.

By and large, Iowa State Debaters' attempt to carry forensics to the grass roots has been an instructive and beneficial experience, and we should like to hear more about the methods and experiences of other chapters along similar lines.

Dr. E. R. Nichols, Jr., debate coach and symposium director at the University of Oregon, like the dutiful son that he is, returned home and painted his father's house this summer.

Wayne C. Eubank has joined the University of New Mexico faculty as head of the Department of Speech. We are told that his successor at the University of Florida hails from Cornell University, New York.

Book Reviews

THREE BOOKS ON NATIONALIZATION OF BASIC INDUSTRIES

1. Complete Handbook on Nationalization of Basic Industries. J. Weston Walch, Box 66, Portland, Maine. (Pearl St. Station).

This is Mr. Walch's usual able handbook on the national collegiate subject. It has eight chapters covering, What the Topic Means; A Statistical Study of the Basic Non-Agricultural Industries; A Bibliography on Nationalization of Basic Non-Agricultural Industries (Annotated); Affirmative Brief; Affirmative Evidence; Negative Brief; Negative Evidence; and, Who's Who on Nationalization of Basic Non-Agricultural Industries.

Mr. Walch is a veteran at summing up and indicating the argument in the articles he includes in his study of the debate question. The book is well planned and ably put together. That it is valuable to the debater, one is sure because he sees it in the hands of debaters everywhere at the tournaments, and that is a testament to its value. The book is particularly good in summing up the articles covered in investigating the ins and outs of the question. The briefs are helpful to the beginning debater. However, for beginning debaters the next book put out by Mr. Walch is unique and perhaps even more indispensable. (See next review).

2. How to Debate Successfully—Illustrated by Nationalization of Basic Industries. James N. Holm and Robert Kent. J. Weston Walch, Publisher, Box 66, Pearl St. Station, Portland, Maine.

When James N. Holm conceived the idea of an annual debate book using the National question of the year for illustrative material and for situations to be dealt with, he not only devised one of the best aids for the beginner, but he also laid out a job for himself and colleague which must have taken a lot of time. It is the kind of work that cannot be done well except by a debater of experience or a debate coach intensely interested in coaching debaters Step by step through seven chapters, he takes the debater on a journey of examination of the question at issue. He explains the techniques of debate and how they fit into the discussion at hand, or rather what techniques are necessary in this particular debate.

The authors begin with What Debate is and what the Affirmative Must do. Their analysis is shrewd and convincing. Next they introduce the Negative and its possibilities. Then they take up the development of the case on both sides, what strategy and method is needed and applicable. Then they take up refutation and rebuttal to break down or to sustain a case.

All the way through the technique of a debate they have illustrated with references and quotations from the material in magazines, etc., on the case. This shows the student where to get material that meets the situation and is quite valuable to him. The third book shows much of the material as the magazines have presented it.

3. Selected Readings on Nationalization of Basic Industries. E. R. Nichols, Nichols Publishing House, 814 Campus Ave., Redlands, Calif.

This book is a group of the best articles available bearing on the National debate subject. The articles are selected on and grouped around the following topics: The Situation: Conditions, Business Cycle—Profits, etc.; Present Government Ownership — TVA, Grand Coulee, Bonneville, etc.; Nationalization or Socialism—Pro and Con. British Experience With Nationalization; Alternative Negative Plans, Controls and Regulations — Bibliography — classified. There is also an introductory analysis.

The book does not attempt to set forth arguments, methods or strategies, but leaves these things to the debater and his coach. It merely attempts to supply him with a collection of significant material. This season the subject is so broad and so significant that it would take ten books to set it forth thoroughly and completely. The classified bibliography will aid in an extended study of the subject.

Three Reference Shelf Numbers. H. W. Wilson Co., 450 University Ave., New York 52, N. Y.

Direct Election of the President—Compiled by Julia E. Johnson. Vol. 21, No. 4.

In this number Miss Johnson has included many of the more significant magazine articles on the peren-

nial subject of getting rid of the electoral college and reforming our system of electing the President. Her selection is good and traces the history and development of this controversy from the beginning to the present. She has grouped her selections as follows: General Discussion; Case for Presidential Election Reform; and, Some Criticism of Proposed Changes.

The Case for Presidential Election Reform contains both Affirmative and Negative material as does the General Discussion. Criticism of Proposed Changes is largely refutation and rebuttal material. This is true because the proposed changes in Congress are Negative plans, but the arguments for them apply largely to the case for Abolishing the Electoral College and adopting a Popular Direct Vote.

The book contains 32 articles by the chief writers and advocates of reform of the electoral system including such men as Sen. Lodge, Congressmen Kefauver, Lea, Gossett, and Senator George W. Norris.

All the material necessary for either side of the case is in the book. It should be very helpful to the high school debater. The Reference Shelf volumes are inexpensive and the annual series of numbers if subscribed to completely is even cheaper. The high schools that debate will want this number of the Reference Shelf on their library shelves.

Equality in America — Compiled by George B. De Huszar. Vol. 21, No. 3.

This book deals with the issue of minority rights, Civil rights and liberties. Naturally the Poll Tax gets consideration as one of the forms of discrimination. Much of the book centers around the race issue and discrimination against the negro. The Jew, of course, gets mentioned, but there is not much space given to the West Coast attitude toward the Oriental or Japanese. The book has the merit of keeping the sensitive dispute between President Truman and the South over Civil Rights which involves the negro question, up to date.

Some attention is paid to "Suggested remedies." Possible actions to better the situation are included, making the book a helpful one to debaters who wish case material.

The progress of civil liberties is noted, and on the whole it is a very satisfactory handbook on this important and much-discussed issue.

Representative American Speeches 1848-49. A. Craig Baird, Editor. H. W. Wilson Co., 950 University Ave., New York 54, New York.

In this number Professor Baird continues his series on the important discussions of the day and hour as they appear in our magazines and periodicals. When one looks over the speeches assembled here he gets a good idea of what was presented at the dinners, clubs, and significant speech occasions in the country during the recent months. In the final chapter there are brief biographical notes about the speakers.

One who wishes to put his finger on the pulse of the country and discover for himself what is being thought and said finds this book is a distinct aid, and its value in future years as a reflecting mirror of our times can hardly be estimated.

Professor Baird has grouped his selection for this number of the series around the following topics: International Policies; National Attitudes; Personal Tribute and Reminiscence; The Presidential Campaign; Science; Business and Labor; Education; Religion.

In his introduction the editor has given some criteria for judging and criticizing contemporary address which should be helpful to the student of speaking.

General Speech—An Introduction by A. Craig Baird and Franklin H. Knower. McGraw - Hill Series in Speech. New York 1949.

This book is really a text book on speaking. It does not differ greatly from the present trend in Freshman Speech texts. One sees in it the same necessary chapter headings and the inevitable pictures of modern, present-day speakers in action. The reviewer recognized his friend, Congressman Mundt, now Senator Mundt of South Dakota, without his underslung pipe. Franklin D. Roosevelt appears at the radio, perhaps broadcasting a fireside chat or a political diatribe, or addressing a Congress he is asking to declare war. At least the caption says it was the latter—at least it is characteristic.

One must point out to be at all fair and just that this book is well written and on the superior side when it comes to educational value to the student. The pedagogy of the book is excellent. It states the ideals of modern speech well and covers the ground adequately. It is strictly up to date in method and approach and should prove to be a popular text on speaking.

There is a great deal of reference to other writers indicating the broad background of the book, and pointing the way to the serious student who wishes to gain an all-around idea of what the teachers of speech are saying to their students.

WHAT THEY SAY

I thought I had sent in my subscription, but must have missed it in the rush. Find check enclosed. Wouldn't be without your magazine for anything.

Northern S. Teachers
P. J. Harkness
Aberdeen, S. Dak.

Thank you for sending the September issue of Speech Activities. Our speech class finds it of great value. Enclosing check for this year's renewal. Sincerely,

Ruth E. Whitticar
Canton 2, Ohio.

We do appreciate Debater's Magazine, now Speech Activities, and have this day requested our business office to purchase offer two, as described in your letter.

Very truly yours,
E. L. Pross
Speech-Drama Dept.
Texas Christian U.
Fort Worth, Texas.

I moved this year from Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., to Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, and a month ago or more I sent through a requisition for a subscription to Speech Activities from here so that I would not miss the first issue this fall. You are putting out a good magazine filled with very valuable material in the field of forensics.

These are days when it is not easy to start a publication and keep it going. I have been on the advisory board of the Players Magazine for some thirteen years and I know the difficulties that every publication has to keep afloat. My best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely,
Howard C. Morgan
Chairman and Director
of Forensics.

The latest printed issues of the magazine have been grand, and

congratulations are due you for a fine job. Keep it up.

James N. Holm
Associate Professor of Speech,
Kent University, Ohio.

Please accept my apologies for not knocking on your door sooner and congratulating you for the fine work you are doing with the Debater's Magazine. In my opinion this need has been growing more acute over the years **and I only hope** that you can keep up the level of quality which you have given us in your early samples.

E. C. Buehler
Univ. of Kansas

Have enjoyed the last issue of the Debate Magazine. Especially enjoyed the account of Dr. Woolbert, my former teacher at the Univ. of Illinois. Keep up the good work.

Cordially,
Herbert Rahe
Willamette University.

I feel that you are doing a splendid job with the publication as well as with all the other services you are offering. I have read every edition of the Debater's Magazine with a great deal of interest.

Brother Alexander
Sacred Heart College High School
San Francisco, Calif.

(Referring to the March 1949 issue) The last issue was by far the best yet. Keep up the good work.

Forrest L. Seal
DePauw University
Greencastle Indiana

You are doing a big job for debating, and at least many of us appreciate it.

Wayne N. Thompson
Chicago Undergraduate Division
Univ. of Illinois Navy Pier
Chicago 1.

Let me congratulate you on the new name and generally improved contents of your magazzine. I think that "Speech Activities" will be much more popular as a name and will enable you to feature articles of news in this wider field.

Robert H. Schacht
Sec. Wisconsin High School
Forensic League
Madison, Wis.

Speech Activities is wonderful! Our college takes a subscription and the girls enjoy reading it in the Pe-

Turn to Page 184

New Speech Organizations

THE ASSOCIATION OF DIRECTORS OF SPEECH ACTIVITIES

This organization, already partly under way, to the extent of having already at the moment of writing over 60 members, is to organize in reality at the SAA Convention at the HOTEL STEVENS, Chicago, Illinois, Dec. 27-29, 1949. At the present moment a ballot is being taken to select committees to act at Chicago and to determine other policies. Since the ballot went out new members are coming in steadily.

This organization will have both college and secondary school members, and will remain closely associated with the Speech Association of America. Its purpose is to do for debate and discussion and Speech Activities and Contests the things that the SAA has not had the time or the inclination to do. It groups together the persons who are really interested in these speech events and who have active charge of them in the hope that they will plan for them with interest and intelligence and a concern that no organization so far has done.

The honor societies have none of them felt responsible or in authority to do the things that an association of directors may do. Nor have the honor societies seen fit to cooperate very largely, and probably never could cooperate in the way individual teachers in a new organization may do. The natural rivalries that they feel need not be felt in a new organization by persons belonging to these orders. As an individual, one can be trusted to keep his loyalties distinct. If there is a new organization, the unity and cooperation of the honor societies will not be needed so much, for the new organization can do the things that united honor societies would have been needed to do.

In previous issues we have discussed the need for this new order, and we need not repeat here what has been said before. The way in which the directors are rallying to the new banner is a striking evidence of the desire and the need for a new organization where directors can meet and face their common problems.

Turn to Page 183

SPEECH ACTIVITIES CLUBS OF AMERICA

This is an undergraduate organization open to college students and to secondary school divisions under the leadership of Sponsors who must be Faculty Members and may be Speech Activities Directors. It is to be an organization for college and secondary schools something on the order of a Toastmaster's Club, with the representative features of a Rotary Club or Kiwanis Club. It is to be a dinner club or luncheon club. It will be limited to 24 members chosen from the classes, fraternities, and organizations in the various institutions which the students will represent. As not all organizations can be represented by 24 members, only part of the organizations can be represented at any one time. The reason for this limit of 24 on the clubs is this: In order to present programs, which they will do under criticism, each club will be divided into four sections of six each. These sections will take one week each month and present a program, furnishing both chairman and speakers. A member of the Faculty or community will be invited each week to act as critic. The members may invite guests to their programs. If a month has more than four weeks a guest speaker will be invited to address the club.

The club will have officers and committees on program, membership, etc., who will confer with their sponsor in conducting the affairs of the club, planning programs, etc. Each club must have the endorsement of the President and deans of the college to obtain a charter.

The club is being founded at the University of Redlands, California. Several other colleges are interested and the club is expected to grow rapidly.

It has the advantage of getting at least twenty-four college leaders together which have not hitherto worked together on many campuses. The idea is to train them to preside, speak, and prepare for future activity in service clubs and citizens' organizations. That their training is paramount is evident because of the limited number and the criticism. Each member will get about nine times a college year to appear on a program, and will constantly

serve on a committee or in some other way. The idea is to make more competent leaders out of them. To sluff off the crudities and awkwardness that many leaders have because of lack of experience.

For Speech teacher sponsors the clubs have the advantage of bringing to the speech teacher many students who would not otherwise get speech training or come in contact with the work of a speech department.

For administrators this sort of a club gathers the leaders together where they are easily accessible, can be reached for college projects easily, and can be trained to represent the college with skill and dignity. The unity that will be achieved will be significant and will be invaluable to the average college.

Is it co-ed? No each college will have both a men's club and a women's club, making 48 all told who will receive this sort of training. In colleges of less than 500 students the clubs will be permitted to be coeducational. The same is true of large and small secondary schools. Naturally the sponsors will be different for men's and women's organizations. However, the administrators may be honorary members of both.

Most of the plans will be left for each institution to work out, that is, individual institutions will decide which classifications or organizations will be permitted representatives. These will change from time to time, as only a few of the fraternities, religious organizations, honor societies, etc., can be represented. The club membership committee will make the selections and invite the members. From time to time the organization represented will change. The idea is to make it an honor to be invited to join the club, which can be achieved only by making one's self known as a leader or prominent member of some college organization.

The plan is to expand into districts and then to a National organization. Fees and charter dues will be kept low. Attendance will be emphasized as in class recitation periods or for instance as in Rotary. A student not keeping up his obligation in attendance and on his programs will be dropped and someone else chosen to take his place.

The types and classes of subjects used and programs developed will be varied greatly. Each club will make its own programs, but will keep in touch with significant program developments tried out by other colleges and schools.

The main things that will be insisted upon to which all must comply is the 24 members and four sections of six, the sponsors, the administrative consent and honorary memberships, the limit of one hour for programs after dinner or luncheon, and the necessity of having a critic mke comments at each meeting. Other things may differ locally with each chapter.

The district and National organization to be built up later will feature the individual rather than the section of six. In such meetings a chapter may be represented by one delegate or more according to financial possibilities.

The type of program for district and National convention will be, besides routine business applying to the organization, contests in which individuals only may compete. These contests are to be different from the ordinary contests in college forensics. It is planned to adopt a combination of discussion and debate for individuals similar to the plan outlined sometime ago in this magazine. That is, individuals may engage in two or more rounds of discussion in panels of six, one from each institution. The discussion will finally reach a proposition for debate. Three individuals on each ponel will take the affirmative and three the negative. In succeeding rounds each student must meet in individual debate the members of his panel. Later inter-panel debates may be arranged. In this way it is hoped to develop leaders well equipped to handle themselves in discussion and debate. Naturally the goal is the development of the future leaders of the country. The emphasis is not to be so much upon individual college competition as it is upon the training of the individual. Naturally a college or secondary school will choose its best to represent them. There will of course be a vast difference in the abilities of club members, that is inevitable. However, the attempt will be to fit each member for useful service as a citizen.

Speech Activities plans to stand behind these two organizations with the necessary publicity. Constitutions and fuller plans may be obtained from the editor of this magazine.

ASSOCIATION OF DIRECTORS OF SPEECH ACTIVITIES

Continued from Page 182

The new organization does not plan to interrupt established things. It will go along as far as possible with things as they are now organized. However, that does not mean that changes and reforms will not come about gradually through the influence of the directors. It is they who will be charged with the conduct and the responsibility of speech contests, etc. Naturally they will have many things to say that will gradually affect the progress of debate, discussion and speech contests.

A constitution will be adopted at the SAA Convention. Already the first draft is under consideration by the Founding Members. It will largely be an authorizing and enabling act, so that at the annual meetings which will be held in connection with the SAA Convention, the members may work out the destiny of the organization and meet its problems and responsibilities as it goes along.

The organization will probably divide the country into districts, and will lend its good offices to improving conditions in the various regions and local districts.

It will attempt to honor directors according to years of service, and will make every bid possible to keep good men in the field of directing speech activities.

The organization to which we now turn is not directly connected with the Association of Directors of Speech Activities, but the Directors will naturally be given first consideration in organizing and promoting chapters of the organization as written up in the accompanying article.

The Southern Speech Association will meet at Birmingham, Alabama, April 5-7, '50. The Southern as well as the Western sponsors a tournament. Glenn R. Capp is President this year.

Howard Runkel, of Bucknell is to assist J. C. Wetherby in coaching at Duke University this season.

The annual meeting of the Western Speech Association will be held at Thanksgiving time, probably at Tucson, Arizona, definite announcement to be made by the council later.

riodical Room. Keep up the good work.

Sister Mary Helene Probst
Incarnate Word College
San Antonio, Texas.

The Summer Issue just arrived. As expected, it is a fine job. The cover especially deserves praise—clean, simple, attractive design. Also I was glad to see complete coverage of the West Point tournament, with all the tabulated results.

George M. Musgrave
Toledo, Ohio.

I was most pleased with the way you published my article on "High School Debating in the East." I was also much impressed with the content of the entire publication. The change in title is well conceived inasmuch as the magazine does truly cover "Speech Activities."

Ralph N. Schmidt
Chr. Dept. Speech
Utica College.

The Debater's Magazine has been arriving and I want you to know that I think you are doing a good job, and filling a gap in the literature of our field.

Gordon F. Hostettler
Temple University.

Since the inception of your magazine I have noticed on several occasions personal sketches of outstanding forensic students in colleges and universities throughout the United States. I think that practice is admirable.

A. R. Christensen
Prof. of Speech
So. Dak. State College.

March 1949 issue—I was very favorably impresed by the last issue of the magazine. A long and vigorous life.

David Potter
Asst. Prof. of Speech
Rutgers University.
(now head of Speech at Univ. of Akron, Ohio.)

Splendid issue. Attractive cover.
Denison University.
Lionel Crocker

The Ohio State High School League will hold its finals this season, March 17-18 at the Ohio State University, at Columbus. There are three divisions: A and B schools and County League schools.

Along the Tournament Front

1. CALENDAR.
2. REPORTS OF TOURNAMENTS.

The Western Speech Tournament

Reports from two of the big tournaments are in. The Western was held at Stanford University Nov. 21-23. Two debate subjects were used, the Western subject of a Marshall Plan for the Orient and the National subject of Nationalization of Basic Industries.

The attendance was so large that judges could not be secured for the 26 teams debating the Nationalization of Basic Industries for the six preliminary rounds. The last two final rounds were judged and resulted in a tie between Willamette University of Oregon and the University of Redlands of California. The winners on the Western subject were: Pepperdine College for men and University of Southern California for women.

The sweepstakes were won by Pepperdine College, the nearest runners up being the University of Redlands and the University of Southern California. Most of the winners were scattered throughout the western domain, which was as it should be. Over forty institutions sent delegations, many of them being so large that at the coaches' meeting it was decided to restrict the attendance in the future to 10 contestants from any one college or University. Also the number of events was limited to five in the future, a college being expected to limit its teams to two in any one division and its contestants to two in any speech event, although this limit may not be absolutely enforced if the college does not exceed its ten representatives.

Prof. Roy D. Mahaffey was chosen Coordinating Officer for one more year, and is to be succeeded after next year by Paul W. Smith of Pasadena City College for a term of five years.

The Western Speech Association held its meetings Nov. 24-26 following the Speech Tournament at the Hotel Sainte Claire in San Jose. There was a large attendance at the sessions, most of which were held in the city auditorium. The San Jose State College dramatic organization presented Part I of Goethe's

Turn to Page 185

Alabama

Feb. 16-19—Fourth Annual Azalea Debate Tournament. Spring Hill College, Alabama.

Nov. 4-5—Southern District T.K.A., Univ. of Alabama.

April 5-7—Southern Speech Association Meet, Birmingham.

California

Oct. 22, '49—Annual College and High School Clinic. Pepperdine College, Los Angeles.

Nov. 5-6—Practice Debate Tournament. L. A. City College. John Gresham, Director.

Nov. 11-12—Speech Events meet. Santa Barbara State College, Evelyn Kenesson, Director.

Nov. 21-23—Western Association Tournament. Stanford University. R. D. Mahaffey, Director.

Two debate subjects—Western and National. Oratory, Extempe, Impromptu After Dinner Speaking, Experimental, Interpretation, Congress.

Feb. 11—Speech Events Meet. University of California at Los Angeles, Westwood. James Murray, Director.

Feb. 24-25—Annual Debate Tournament, California Institute of Technology, Psadena.

March 17-18—Phi Rho Pi Tournament. Place to be decided.

April 3-5—Pi Kappa Delta Invitational. College of Pacific, Stockton. Charles Guss, Director.

April 7-8 — Phi Rho Pi National. Bakersfield.

High Schools

Nov. 5—Novice Tournment. Excelsior Union H. S. Norwalk.

Dec. 9-10—U.S.C. Open Tournament. Los Angeles.

Jan. 14—S.C.D.L.—Round Robin Tournament. El Monte H.S., El Monte

Mar. 4—Novice Individual Events (Fairfax L.A.) High School.

March 17-18—Northern California NUEA Tournament. College of Pacific, Stockton. Charles Guss, Director. Southern California NUEA Tournament, University of Redlands. E. R. Nichols, Director.

March 31-April 1—Southern California N.F.L. District. Marshall H.S., Los Angeles. L. D. Hanks, Director.

April 15—State H.S. Championships (winners of Redlands and

Stockton Tournaments and NFL Districts). Bakersfield J.C. and H.S. Charles Guss, Director.

April 28-29—Student Congress at Los Angeles City Hall.

May 13—Individual Events Meet, Beverly Hills H.S. and S.C.D.L. event.

San Francisco State College Tourney for high schools.

May 27—Alternate Topic Debate. U.C.L.A. campus, Westwood.

Colorado

Nov. 5—Regional Phi Rho Pi Debate Tournament. Pueblo. Glenn L. Jones, Director.

Feb. 16-18—Annual Rocky Mountain Speech Conference. University of Denver. P. Merville Larson, Director.

Georgia

Jan. 18—All-Georgia Debate Tournament, Emory College.

Illinois

Dec. 2-3—Annual Knox College Invitational Tournament, Galesburg. Open to Delta Sigma Rho chapters. Prof. W. F. Donnelly, Director.

Indiana

Oct. 27-28—Eighth Annual Indiana - Michigan T.K.A. Chapters at Purdue University, Lafayette.

Dec. 2-3—17th Annual H.S. Debate Conference, Purdue University, Lafayette.

Feb. 18 '50—Third Annual Delta Sigma Rho Debate Tournament, DePauw University, Greencastle. Prof. Forrest L. Seal, Director.

Kansas

Nov. 18-19—Southwestern College Debate Tournament. Winfield, Kansas. M. K. Snyder, Director.

Nov. 19—Kansas State Pre-Season Tournament. K.S.A.C., Manhattan. Vernon R. McGuire, Director.

Nov. 25-26 — Bethel College Debate Tournament. Newton, Kansas. Wm. T. Wilkoff, Director.

Dec. 9-10—State Teachers College Debate Tournament. Pittsburgh, Kansas. Robert Strawn, Director.

March 10-11—18th Annual Forensic Tournament, St. John's College, Winfield. G. A. Kuhlman, Director.

March 29 — All Missouri Valley Tournament, Wichita.

Kentucky

March 9-11 — T. K. A. National, Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington.

Massachusetts

Feb. 10-11 '50—Fourth Annual Invitational Debate Tournament. Boston University. Austin J. Freeley, Director. Eight Rounds on National Subject.

Michigan

April 28 '50—Annual High School Championships. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor.

Minnesota

Jan. '50—Augsburg College Tournament, Minneapolis.

Mississippi

Dec. 2-3—Millsaps College Tournament, Jackson.

Montana

April 21-22, '50—Annual Tau Kappa Alpha Tournament. Montana State University, Missoula. Ralph Y. McGinnis, Director.

Nebraska

Nov. 18-19 — Preparatory Debate Assembly (three rounds). Midland College, Fremont.

Feb. 24-25 '50—Tenth Annual University of Nebraska Intercollegiate Discussion and Debate Conference. Donald Olson, Director. Three rounds discussion; five rounds debate; using National Subject; Oratory, Extempe, Radio Newscasting.

March—Nebraska Intercollegiate Forensic Meet. Kearney State College, Kearney.

New York

April 27-29 '50—West Point National College Meet. L. Col. Chester L. Johnson, Director.

Ohio

Oct. 8—Ohio Speech Conference. Deschler-Wallick Hotel, Columbus.

Feb. 25—Ohio District Contests (High Schools).

March 17-18—State Forensic Finals, Ohio State University, Columbus. Paul Cramack, Director.

Dec. 3-4, '49—Ohio State Meet for Women, Capitol University, Columbus.

Feb. 24-25—Ohio State Men's Debate Meet, Capitol Univ., Columbus.

Oklahoma

Dec. 1-3—East Central College, Ada D. J. Nabors, Director. Debate for Sr. Men, Jr. Men, Inexperienced Men. Speech events for Jr. and Sr. men and women.

March 2-4—21st Savage Forensic Southwest State College, Durant. Tom A. Houston, Director.

Oregon

Feb. 16-18—18th Interscholastic. Linfield, McMinnville. R. D. Mahaffey, Director.

March 9-11—20th Annual Intercollegiate Meet. Linfield College, McMinnville. R. D. Mahaffey, Director.

Dec. 2-3—Pacific Univ. H. S. Meet, Forest Grove. A. C. Hingston, Director.

Pennsylvania

Dec. 10-11—Invitational Cross Examination Debate Tournament. University of Pittsburgh.

Virginia

Nov. 4-5—Virginia TKA Regional Lunchburg. Director, H. H. Garretson.

Note—We'd like to list your tournament if you will send us a card with the information necessary.

WESTERN SPEECH MEET

Continued from Page 184

Faust, which proved to be one of the high lights of the 1949 sessions.

The new president of the Western is Norman Freestone of Occidental College, former Editor of Western Speech, and Roy D. Mahaffey was chosen First Vice President. Susie Niles of Salt Lake City, Utah, was chosen First Vice President for 1951. A new constitution was adopted at the business session of the Western—or a greatly revised version of the old constitution was voted on and accepted which provides for a system more nearly like the SAA and organizes the Western more efficiently.

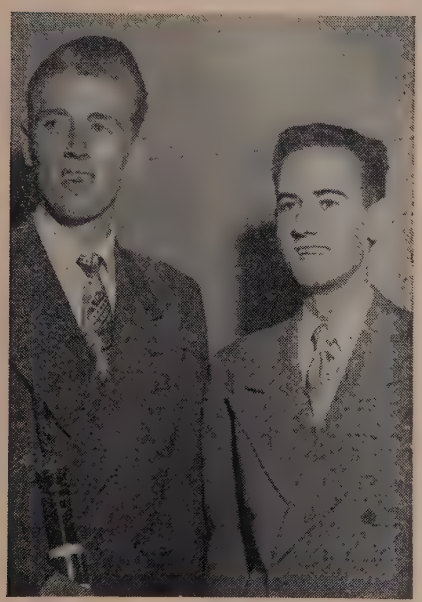
Original Tournament at Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas

Only a meager report from the original daddy of Tournaments—one at Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, has arrived.

From it we gather that a most interesting thing happened. A college which has not won for 13 years took the Senior Division in debate—Kansas State Teachers at Emporia. It was the first tournament of the year, and his first college tournment for Emporia's new coach, Charles Masten. Masten had just received his M.A. degree at the University of Redlands following the summer session this fall. He writes the following account:

"It was our first tournament and I took only two teams. The rest of the squad went to Manhattan for a novice tournament. I had an experienced boy, and nobody to team him with, so I chose a Freshman girl. I think Dr. Pflaum thought I was "nuts," but he didn't say anything. This was the girl's first college tournament, and the two did a good job. It wasn't a fluke win: they knocked off the team that won at Winfield last year in the quarter finals, and defeated Augustana's top team by a 3 to 0 decision in the semi-finals. There were 22 colleges represented, from five states.

"We followed your suggestion in **Speech Activities** that the affirmative would have to use principles, and advantage-disadvantage type of case. It seems to me that if the first affirmative tries to establish a need, the first negative can crucify them by showing that any and all specific or general items can be taken care of by the 'evolving status quo.' Two other colleges used advantage-disadvantage cases at this tournament, and all got teams to the semi-finals. Doane (Nebraska) and MacPherson (Kansas) were the colleges."



WESTERN DEBATE WINNERS
Howard Privett and John Bean, Pepperdine College

MY PAPER DOLL

Continued from Page 164

cannon, and the rifle. And at the same time the common people of Fance turned from the tired guillotine to put up their declaration "liberty, property, security, and resistance against oppression." Now put up replicas of the Monitor and the Merimack, and counter them with the Proclamation of emancipation signed, Abraham Lincoln. Next assign a place to my PAPER DOLL, and to the Alantic Charter, And finally on this side a uranium atom: over here an empty frame—a blank space, waiting—waiting a pronouncement from the United Nations. Remember, we'll settle our arguments with one or the other. And contests such as this are one of the best training grounds in America for the use of Aristotle's weapons.

KANSAS STATE (EMPORIA) WINNERS OF THE WINFIELD TOURNAMENT.

PEPPERDINE DEBATE SQUAD — WINNERS OF SENIOR DIVISION SWEEPSTAKES, WESTERN SPEECH TOURNAMENT, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

First Row, left to right: Dorothy Machenheimer, Maryjane Jeffery, Joan Elmes, Coach Emmett Long, Pat Medley, Anna Bockemohle, Nell Kercheville.
Second Row, left to right: Bill Lewis, Bernard Byerley, Ronald Reid, Lyndell Cheeves, David Robinson, Howard Privett, John Goff, John Bean, Donald Ruston.

Kansas Debates Nationalization

SUMMARY OF KANSAS COLLEGES DEBATE CASES ON NATIONAL SUBJECT

By Charles Masten

The following is a brief of the constructive arguments of the final Senior Division debate at Winfield, Kansas, Nov. 18 and 19. Twenty-two schools were present at this first tournament on the question of nationalization of basic non-agricultural industry in the Mid-west. Miss Allbright and Miss Allbright, twins from MacPherson College, upheld the affirmative; Miss Iva Lee Hooper and Mr. Robert Kaiser took the negative side. The negative won on a split decision. The following is reconstructed from the notes of the negative team.

First Affirmative

The Affirmative defines "nationalization" to mean ownership and regulation by the Federal Government; "basic industries" to mean those industries fundamental to the economy of the United States, specifically, the mining of coal and iron, the manufacture of steel, railroads, electrical power, and petroleum.

Our first contention is that the present system of our economy is undemocratic. Our natural resources are being exploited and wasted by the basic industries. We are cutting our trees at tne rate of two for every one we replant. For every barrel of oil taken out of our ground, the oil companies have wasted or made unavailable forever two other barrels that could have been saved. For every cubic foot of gas used in the United States, four more have been blown off into the air. The remedy for this is a government monopoly of our natural resources to conserve them and save America from going further down the road of exploitation.

Another undemocratic evil of our present system is the monopolies of private business that are crushing out smaller firms. Before the war, 15,000 firms controlled one-third of our economy — the same one-third that is now controlled by 260 giant corporations. In order to stop this trend and preserve private enterprise in the secondary industries, it is necessary for the government to nationalize these basic industries and so stand as a monitor over the secondary industries to preserve the smaller businesses.

At the present time the railroads, instead of carrying their own weight, require subsidies from the government amounting to one hundred and fifty million dollars a year —at the expense of the rest of our economy.

Our second contention is that labor and management are dissatisfied under the present economy. The six billion dollars lost in strikes since the end of the war, the present and far-reaching effects of the steel strike, the coal strike are symptoms of labor's dissatisfaction and belief that it is not receiving a fair return. Management also is dissatisfied, and this tension, this strife can best be cured by nationalization of the basic non-agricultural industries.

First Negative

The affirmative in today's debate have defined nationalization as ownership and regulation—regulation of basic industries. Basic industries they define as coal, iron, steel, railroads, electrical power, and petroleum, including natural gas. Let us examine these industries closely and see the amount of government regulation now existing in each.

At the present time coal, iron, and steel are under the National Resources Board, a board directly concerned with the conservation of our natural resources, and having regulatory powers. The railroads are under the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Federal Transportation Commission, with rates, fares, safety, and other details of operation prescribed by the government. The minimum wage law, the Railroad Act, and other laws at the present time regulate the railroads. How would this be increased by government ownership?

Electrical power is completely under the Interstate Commerce Commission. In addition, many utilities are now publicly owned, and much power comes from government owned and operated hydroelectric projects. The petroleum industry, under the Petroleum Administration, regulates now such pertinent details as pumping rate, the number of wells that can be drilled in a given field, and the conservation of natural gas. May I point out that these commissions and boards are now all operating, receiving appropriations from the government in the present budget.

We also wish to point out at this point in today's debate that the affirmative have given us two major contentions—the present system is undemocratic, and labor and management are dissatisfied with it. So far they have not shown us how nationalization would remove these evils. They have presented no plan for putting this theoretical nationalization into practice.

The second major contention of the affirmative was the dissatisfaction of labor and management, and they have pointed out the strikes in industry. Here, too, they have given us no implementation for the prevention of strikes. It is the present law and precedent of the federal government that workers cannot strike against the government. Government ownership must therefore deny the right to strike to all workers in basic industry. We ask the affirmative to clarify this issue.

Second Affirmative

The negative has asked us to clarify our stand on strikes. According to present Supreme Court decisions, labor has four legitimate reasons for striking—wages, hours, living costs, and bad working conditions. Under nationalization these causes would be alleviated, if not completely removed. Labor would receive a fair return, under fair working conditions. If in a few cases labor still wished to strike, we would grant them that right upon the four causes mentioned.

The negative has given you a list of the governmental agencies now concerned with basic industries. These industries are operating at the present time without ownership — an entirely different thing than regulation under ownership.

The negative has asked us for a detailed plan of nationalization. Such a plan is beyond the scope of this question and impossible to set up in such a short debate. We are debating the need and advantages of nationalization only.

The third contention of the affirmative in this debate is that nationalization would be a boon to a secondary industry. My colleague pointed out that the monopolistic trend in business today is engulfing more and more small businesses ev-

ery year. We do not have free enterprise in the United States at the present time. By price-fixing and market division under gentlemen's agreements that cannot be prosecuted under present anti-trust laws, the monopolies have destroyed competition. By natinalizing basic industries and so controlling these monopolies, we would actually be benefitting secondary industry and restoring a freer enterprise and freer competition. Under the TVA the government has actually done this, encouraging and bringing small industry into new areas.

The fourth contention of the affirmative is that nationalization is the next logical step in our evolution. Again let us cite the TVA as an example of this. Here we find a project where government is efficiently operating the power and other basic industries for the good of the country. Here we find regulation is and can be effective.

Second Negative

Let us analyze the affirmative case. Their first contention is that the present system is undemocratic. They have offered us no plan by which nationalization would make it more democratic, no proof that the drastic step of government ownership would increase the democracy of the system. They have only asked us to prove it is not undemocratic. We ask them to prove they can remedy their own evil under government ownership, which cannot improve the regulation we now have. They cite the railroads now receive one hundred and fifty million dollars a year subsidy. This does not prove that nationalization is necessary or desirable.

Their second contention that both labor and management are dissatisfied with the present system, is irrelevant to this question, since they have not proved that labor and management would be more satisfied under nationalization. In reply to our question about the right to strike, the affirmative have replied that by securing adequate wages and working conditions, strikes would be greatly reduced. They have not shown us how nationalization would accomplish this. By fact-finding? By arbitration? A glance at the papers will show this is presently failing. And by permitting the full right to strike we now have, they have denied any compulsion under nationalization.

Their third contention is that nationalization would be a boon to secondary industry. They feel that secondary industry would benefit more under one gigantic and bureaucratic monopoly, disposing of the essential raw materials of industry, more than it now does under several. And as an example of government efficiency and desirability, they cite the TVA. Since the TVA has been in operation, Tennessee has dropped from 38th to 43rd state in percentage of rural electrification. The TVA has submerged permanently an amount of land equal to two-thirds of the land it was designed to protect. We find that its soil conservation program has been "badly fumbled."

The affirmative's fourth contention is that nationalization is the next evolutionary step. Evolution is a gradual extension of what we have. The sudden and complete ownership of the basic industries by the federal government is not evolutionary, but revolutionary, and is so radical in concept as to make this contention an inconsistency.

Again, they have offered us no plan, by means of which this theoretical ownership and regulation could be put into practice. They have presented the problem and assumed the solution. At this point their case is confronted with these alternatives: If present regulation is ineffective, they have not proved how ownership would add to its effectiveness. If present regulation is effective, they have not proved why ownership is needed.

Their theoretical nationalization, however, presents three practical disadvantages. First, the inefficiency of bureaucracy. It costs the United States $200 per veteran per year just for paper work in the Veterans Administration, and it costs three million dollars to run that section of the ICC dealing solely with rates. This is the government that will decide the wages, hours, working conditions of every industry, and assure freer enterprise and a fair share of raw materials to all the secondary industries.

Second, the inefficiency and waste of government management. The 28 corporations now owned and run by the government are a complete picture of bankruptcy over the period of their existence. TVA is an example. The Inland Waterways, government owned and in competition with private barge lines, is unable to show a profit and must make up its deficit every year by congressional appropriation. During World War One, the railroads lost over a billion dollars.

Third, the increase of the already dangerous pressure groups when industry and workers are unable to influence their boss or their supplier by means of lobbies. The five percenters will become small potatoes in comparison.

GENERAL NOTES

The Institute of International Education is actively on the job of getting debates on the Westcoast for the Scottish team for the season of 1950. The team is composed of David D. T. Reid, Univ. of Glasgow, and Malcolm David Webster-Low of the Univ. of Edinburgh. The subjects the Scottish team is proposing are: That liberty is threatened by the welfare state; That the choice today is between Religion and Communism; That this House looks with favor on the revival of Nationalism in Europe and Asia; That the increasing domination of Man by Woman is deplorable; That technical education is out of place in the university; That this house deplores the use of propaganda, political or commercial. On the third and sixth of these questions Low and Reid are agreed and will debate together. On all the others they disagree and will each join their American colleague in a split team debate. We deduce this from the fact that they split Affirmative and Negative on these questions. Colleges wishing to meet the Scottish teams will be expected to pay $100 and give entertainment to the visitors. The guarantee is to finance the trip of the Scottish team, which without this help would not be possible.

The Pre-view of Debate and discussion at the National Convention to be held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago in December, announces several debate and discussion meetings. There are two on discussion and two on debate and a third dealing with high school forensics. In addition the Directors of debate and high school forensic activities are organizing a new association to be composed of Directors of Speech Activities.

Also the annual high school conference on the next season's subject will be held.

INDEX TO VOLUME FIVE

Title Index	Page	No.
A		
Administrative Practice in College Forensic Programs	90	2
Along the Tournament Front, pages 45, No. 1; 94, No. 2; 140, No. 3	183	4
And So We Change Our Name, Editorial	34	1
Answers to Readers' Quiz	175	4
Are Ethics Important? Editorial	34	1
Association of Directors of Speech Activities, 125, No. 3	181	4
B		
Best Ever Tournament at Longmont, Colo.	87	2
Bibliography—Federal Health Insurance	40	1
Book Reviews, 13, No. 1; 81, No. 2; 134, No. 3	179	4
Bradley University	71	2
Bring Back the Losers	166	4
C		
Calendar of Tournaments, 45, No. 1	183	4
Citizens or Trophies	126	3
Coaching the Contest Orator	19	1
College and High School Meets at Purdue	44	1
College Handbook Division, 28, No. 1; 70, No. 2; 128, No. 3	176	4
College Oratory, 17, No. 1; 78, No. 2; 131 No. 3	164	4
A Year Goes By, Oration by Omar Kureishi	17	1
The Time Has Come, Oration by David Levering	78	2
My Paper Doll, Oration by John W. Low	164	4
Comment on Dean Layton's Address	62	2
Congratulations, George and Mary Jean	87	2
D		
Death of Herbert Rahe	80	2
Debate—Coaches View of Post War Situation	56	2
Debate—Does Debate Encourage Sophism?	75	2
Debate—Multiple Subjects	125	3
Debate—Philosophy of	75	2
Debate—Specimen Debate Division, 108, No. 3	168	4
Debate Techniques, 68, No. 2	123	3
Debate, College Handbook, 28, No. 1; 70, No. 2; 128, No. 3	176	4
Debate, High School Handbook, 32, No. 1; 66, No. 2; 129, No. 3	178	4
Debater and his Audience	157	4
Debater, His Preparation	58	2
Debaters, What becomes of	12	1
Debating, International, 133, No. 3	155	4
Declamation, How to Teach	21	1
Discussion, Department of, 116, No. 3	159	4
Discussion in High Schools	101	3
Discussion, What has d. taught us about debate?	51	2
E		
Editorials and Comment, 34, No. 1; 75, No. 2; 125, No. 3	173	4
Election of the President, 66, No. 2; 129, No. 3; 108, No. 3	178	4
Entertainment of Visitors a problem	76	2
Examining the College Oration	131	3
F		
Feature, Special Feature Division, 23, No. 1; 71, No. 2; 119, No. 3	3	1
Federal Aid to Education	23, 24	1
Florida University	167	4
Forensics at the Grass Roots	82	2
Forensics, National Tournaments and conventions	106	3
Forensics, 1949 National Forensic League Winners—Pictures		
Forensic Activities, Survey of College	8	1
Forensic Situation, Viewing the	5	1
Forensic Honor Societies, With the	36	1
Fourth Delta Sigma Rho Congress	136	3
H.		
Hail and Farewell, address at Pi Kappa Delta Convention	165	4
Handbook, College, 28, No. 1; 70, No. 2; 128, No. 3	176	4
Handbook, High School, 32, No. 1; 66, No. 2; 129, No. 3	178	4
Herbert Rahe, 75, 80, No. 2	118	3
Hiram Johnson, The Man whom the People Believed	161	4
High School Debating in the East	14	1
Honor Societies, With the	136	3
How Can We Secure More Uniformity in Debate Judging in the Future?	60	2
I.		
Intercollegiate Debate Tournaments, Role of	151	4
International Debating, 133, No. 3	155	4
Investigation or Persuasion	51	2
L.		
Long Trail Back, The	126	3
M.		
My Paper Doll, an oration, John W. Low	164	4
N		
Nationalization of Basic Industries, 128, No. 3; 168, No. 4	176	4
News Notes and Personals, 46, No. 1; 35, No. 1; 93, No. 2; 124, No. 3; 163, 173, 176, 188, No. 4.		
NUEA Commitee Meets at Washington, D.C. Convention	4	1
Non-Tournament Intercollegiate Discussion	116	3
O		
Ohio State, 1949 High School League Picture	107	3
Organization of Directors of Speech Activities, 70, No. 2; 125, No. 3	181	4
Organization, Regional, An Editorial	34	1
Origin of Tournaments	154	4
Original Tournament at Southwestern College of Winfield, Kansas	184	4
Our Contributors	174	4
Over Specialization, a guest editorial	125	3
P		
Pepperdine College, 119, No. 4		
Personal Testimony Section	65	2
President Buehler's Address, Delta Sigma Rho Convention	136	3
Professional Spirit, The, an editorial	34	1
Proposed New Association of Speech Directors	38	1
Public Address, Division of	161	4
Q		
Question, 1949-50 College	118	3
R		
Radio Section	63	2
Reader's Quiz	168	4
Remarks for the Good of the Order, 43, No. 1; 76, No. 2; 126, No. 3	166	4
Boston University Tournament, Austin J. Freeley	43	1
How Tournaments May Help More People, G. A. Kuhlman	76	2
Entertainment of Visitors, G. M. Musgrave	76	2
Citizens or Trophies, Elizabeth W. Rowe	126	3
Bring Back the Losers, Malcolm Sillars	165	4
Return to Sanity, An Editorial	75	2

If it is a question of speech . . . there is a *teachable, readable,* Crocker book to do the job!

Lionel Crocker, Chairman of the Department of Speech, Denison University

Public Speaking for College Students SECOND EDITION

Largely rewritten and reset in an attractive new format, this new edition of a widely used book offers these improvements

- The illustrations of the principles have been brought up to date.
- There is an entirely new chapter on choosing a subject.
- A chapter of easy-to-remember maxims has been added.
- An illuminating discussion of listening techniques has been inserted.
- Preceding Part I is a digest of the book in outline form.
- The Appendixes have been revised and brought up to date.
- At the beginning of each chapter is an outline of the main points of the chapter.
- The book lists include the latest collateral readings.
- The number of photographs has been more than doubled.

NOW IN PREPARATION

Workshop in Public Speaking for College Students

This is a practical, timesaving workbook that may also be used to advantage with other texts.

Argumentation and Debate

In this popular book, bridging the gap between theory and practice is approached in three ways

1. Professor Crocker relies heavily upon current examples.
2. Since inspiration is important in the field being studied, he attempts to inspire the student to become a better debater — to be equal to the best of public speakers.
3. He offers and analyzes argumentative speeches by leaders of our time to show how carefully they prepare their manuscripts.

American Book Company

S

Speaking Arrangements in Debate....123 3
Special Feature Division, 23, No. 1 71, No. 2; 119, No. 3
Florida University....23 1
Bradley University....71 2
Pepperdine College....119 3
Speech Activities Clubs of America....181 4
Speech Contests Division, 21, No. 1....106 3
Speech Organization, A New, 125, No. 3....181 4
Socialism in Great Britain....147 4
Statistics, West Point Meet....88 2
Summary of Kansas Colleges Debate Case on Naturalization....187 4

T

Technically Speaking, 41, No. 1; 79, No. 2....168 4
Time Has Come, An Oration....78 2
Tournaments May Help More People, How....76 2

W

Washington, D.C., Interhonor Society Meeting....36 1
Wendell Willkie, Debater....99 3
Western Sppeech Tournament....183 4
West Point Tournament Again, The....35 1
West Point Letter....30 1
West Point Winners, Picture....102 3
West Point National Invitational Meet....84 2
What Debating Has Meant to Me....65 2
What They Say....180 4
What Will It Be Next Year?....32 1
Word about our Cover Page, A....35 1

Y

Year Goes By,—an Oration by Omar Kureishi....17 1

CITROGRAPH PRINTING CO.

Book and Magazine Publishers

113 East State Street
Redlands, California

AUTHOR LIST

A

	Page	No.
Aarnes, Hale	63	2
Allen, John J.	147	4

B

Buehler, E. C.	136	3
Burton, C. Grant	75	2

C

Carleton, William G.	65	2
Constans, H. P.	151	4
Curry, Myron M.	63	2

D

Dubrige, Dr. L. A., President California Institute Technology	3	1

E

Ehninger, Douglas	54	2
Eubank, Wayne C.	5	1

F

Fest, Thorrel B.	90	2
Freeley, Austin J.	43	1

G

Griffin, Kim	159	4

H

Hancher, Dr. Virgil M., President Iowa State University	58	2
Hansen, J. D.	154	4
Harringtn, Elbert	101	3
Hellman, Hugo E.	32	1
Hewlett, Marilyn Nesper	116	3

J

Johnson, T. Earle	125	3
Jordan, Harold	101	3

K

Kureishi, Omar	7	1

L

Lahman, Carroll P., 12, No. 1	126	3
Lawson, Ralph C.	36	1
Layton, Charles R.	60	2
Levering. David	78	2
Lomas, Charles W.	131	3
Low, John W.	164	4

M

Michener, Ralph A.	167	4
Miller, Edd	167	4
Musgrave, George McCoy, 41, No. 1; 62, No. 2; 68, No. 2; 76, No. 2; 76, No. 2; 79, No. 2; 123, No. 3	168	4

N

Nelson, Roy C.	90	2
Nichols, E. R., 28, 1; 70, No. 2; 128, No. 3; 176, No. 4; 173. No. 4		
Nichols, E. Ray, Jr.	161	4

P

Pitt, Carl A.	99	3
Pross, E. L., 56, No. 2	8	1

R

Rowe, Elizabeth W.	126	3

S

Schindler, C. M.	21	1
Schmidt, Rlph N.	14	1
Shirley, John	56	2
Sillars, Malcolm	166	4

T

Thompson, Wayne N., 51, No. 2; 116, No. 3	159	4

W

Weaver, Carl H.	19	1

HOLLYWOOD TROPHY COMPANY

CUPS
MEDALS
PLAQUES
PINS
RINGS
INCENTIVE
AWARDS
GAVELS

HOLLYWOOD 9-3959
1638 N. WILCOX AVE. HOLLYWOOD 28

NEW

for 1949 - 1950

a NEW "Complete Handbook on Election of Presidents" by J. Weston Walch, covering the 1949-1950 high school topic.

a NEW edition of "How to Debate Successfully" by James N. Holm, illustrated throughout by the Election of Presidents topic.

a NEW handbook on the national college topic, by J. Weston Walch — coming out in late October.

NEW — January 1st, 1950 — "Successful Devices in Oral English" including 350 teaching methods suggested by nearly 200 speech teachers.

NEW — September 15th, 1949 — "Radio Players' Script-book" containing 15 Scripts, selected by Herbert Prescott and carefully tested at Grinnell College.

Send for our catalog describing these and other publications.

J. Weston Walch, *Publisher*

Box 66, Pearl Street Station **Portland, Maine**

Prof. Harold Mikle of Bowling Green State University has been elected head of the Northeastern Ohio Debate Conference.

Texas Christian University has a brand new School of Fine Arts building which cost about one-half million dollars. The Speech Department is one of the fortunate departments housed in the new building.

The Westcoast colleges are debating a Marshall Plan for the Orient at their Western States Meet at Stanford Nov. 21-23. There will also be a section on the National subject, but no points in the National section in this tournament will count on the sweepstakes. Several other events beside debate are on the calendar. The tournament is under the direction of R. D. Mahaffey of Linfield College, Oregon.

The eighteenth annual Convention of the Western Speech Association was held at San Jose State College November 24-26. It was preceded by the Western Association Speech Tournament held at Stanford University Nov. 21-23.

The Southern California College Association of Teachers of Speech and the Southern California section of the American Educational Theater Association held a Fall Conference at Santa Barbara State College October 14 and 15. On November 11-12 Santa Barbara State entertained the annual Fall Speech Events Meet in a practice get-together in preparation for the Western Association Tournament.

McGraw-Hill Book Company is announcing a new book on Argumentation, Discussion and Debate by Dr. A. Craig Baird of the University of Iowa Department of Speech.

Coach Leland H. Monson brought Bakersfield Junior College squad is beginning to prepare for the National Tournament and Convention of Phi Rho Pi which will be held on their campus next spring.

Coach Leland H. Monson brought a group of his debaters all the way from Ogden, Utah, to take part in the Practice Tournament at Los Angeles City College Nov. 5-6.

Prof. John Gresham has taken Gordon Mills' place as mentor of the debate squad at L. A. City College this season while Mills pursues a doctor's degree. Mr. Gresham was in charge of the recent tournament held at the City College.

The Oklahoma Speech Conference was held at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, September 22-24. The homa, Norman, Stptember 22-24. The Conference was addressed by Dr. Franklin Knower of the Ohio State University Speecn Staff.

Prof. Winston L. Brembeck, formerly of Mnchester College, Indiana, is now director of Debate and Speech Activities at the University of Wisconsin.

The annual meeting of the Eastern Public Speaking Conference will be held at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, April 13-15, 1950.

HIGH SCHOOL NEWS NOTES

The most significant announcement of the season for high schools is the restoration of debate to the National Forensic League Convention. The decision was made by the Contest Committee of the Association of Secondary Principals. A two-man team from each state will be allowed to enter the National Tournament of the NFL. The dates for this National Convention are April 27-29, but the place has not as yet been announced.

WESTERN SPEECH

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF SPEECH
INFORMATIVE SPEECH ARTICLES

★ ★ ★

ELEMENTARY—SECONDARY—COLLEGE LEVELS
BOOK REVIEWS
NEWS NOTES OF MEMBERS
SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENTS
PUBLICATION ADVERTISEMENTS
PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

SUBSCRIPTION $2.00 **SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP $4.00**

★ ★ ★

For Information, Address
WILLIAM B. McCOARD, Editor
University of Southern California
Department of Speech
Los Angeles, California

Want to Be a Charter Member?

and take part in the Organization of the new Association of Speech Activities Directors?

ORGANIZATION MEETINGS SCHEDULED FOR

10:30, Tuesday, December 27, Stevens Hotel Room 20
2:00 P. M., Tuesday, December 27, Stevens Hotel Room 20
7:00 P. M., Thursday, December 29, Stevens Hotel Room 521

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION WILL BE READY FOR DISCUSSION

Preliminary first year membership fee $2.00. Or, pay $5.00 and get a year's membership and extend your subscription to this magazine one year.

Write to: PROF. HUGO E. HELLMAN, Department of Speech, Marquette University
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin, Chairman Organization Committee

or to

DR. E. R. NICHOLS, 814 Campus Avenue, Redlands, California, Secretary
Organization Committee.

Nichols Publishing House

Announces

The Following Mimeograph Publications:

INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATES OF THE WAR INTERIM

Edited by E. R. Nichols, Mimeographed. Special price of $3.00 to subscribers (new or old). Seven debates of the last three or four years on: Compulsory Arbitration, Labor Sharing in Management, Revision of Federal Labor Laws, Right to Strike in War Industries, Compulsory Military Service, Free Medical Care, and Federal World Government **$3.50**

INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATES, VOLUME 2. **$3.50**

A collection of seven debates of the present season. A continuation of the above volume and of the printed series of intercollegiate debates. Edited by E. R. Nichols. Special price to subscribers, $3.00.....

COLLEGE ORATIONS OF THE WAR INTERIM.

Edited by Evan Anderson and E. R. Nichols. Twenty orations of the pre-war, war period, and post war period. Some of them make excellent oratorical declamations. Special price to subscribers, new or old $2.00..... **$2.50**

COLLEGE ORATIONS OF THE DAY. VOLUME 2 and 3 **$2.50**

of the above title. A collection of college orations of the season. Edited by E. R. Nichols. Special price to subscribers, $2.00.....

ORATORICAL DECLAMATIONS, VOLUME 1. **$3.00**

Three divisions: Old Favorites; Modern Oratory and Public Speaking; College Oratory selections. Edited by E. R. Nichols. Special price to subscribers, $2.50....

1949-50 HANDBOOKS ON NATIONAL SUBJECTS **$3.50**

Selected Readings on the 1949-50 High School (October) and College Subjects (November). Special price to subscribers $3.00. Each .....

IN PREPARATION

WRITING THE COLLEGE ORATION. **$3.50**

A book based on a study of college orations since the beginning of the Interstate Oratorical League, giving their kinds, principles, and varying techniques for the assistance of the student attempting now to write an oration for contest entry.

You may order ahead on books announced coming, but do not send any money. Your order will be filed and filled when the books are ready and you will be billed at that time.
Postage on books prepaid; we do not pay notarization on bills.
Tax required on California sales.

NICHOLS PUBLISHING HOUSE

814 CAMPUS AVENUE
REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA